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A Quarterly

59

*Vol. LXIII, No. 3* *April, 1958*

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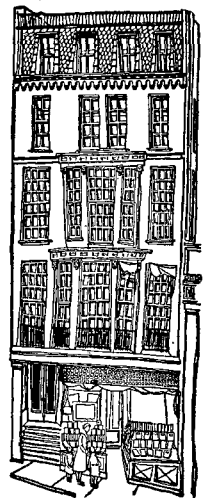
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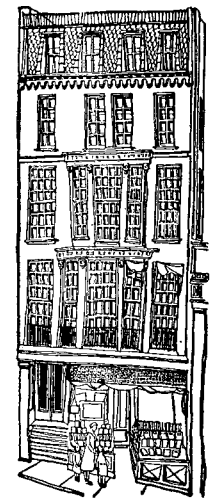
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The
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HISTORICAL
REVIEW

*Vol. LXIII, No. 3* *April, 1958*

# Russo-German Military Collaboration During the Weimar Republic*

HANS W. GATZKE

FEW chapters in the history of the Weimar Republic have aroused as much interest among publicists and historians as the secret relations between the Reichswehr and the Red Army.[1] Yet until recently, very little reliable information has been available on this important subject. Only since World War II has sufficient material become available to establish, beyond mere conjecture, the main facts of these Russo-German activities. The most important of these new sources are the papers of General Hans von Seeckt[2] and the reminiscences of some of the German officers who participated in these deal-

* The author wishes to thank Dr. Fritz T. Epstein, Professor Herbert Helbig, and Mr. Moritz Schlesinger for reading this manuscript and for making many helpful corrections and suggestions. The views expressed, however, are entirely those of the author.

[1] The first full treatment of the subject, Cecil F. Melville, *The Russian Face of Germany* (London, 1932), though based on unofficial sources, is still highly informative. The most recent study is Georges Castellan, "Reichswehr et Armée Rouge 1920–1939," in *Les Relations germano-soviétiques de 1933 à 1939*, ed. Jean-Baptiste Duroselle (Paris, 1954), pp. 137–260.

[2] From the Heeresarchiv Potsdam, these papers are now on microfilm available in the Widener Library, Harvard University.



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ings.[3] These sources are not very extensive, and the hope that they may some day be supplemented by information from German army records will probably prove vain, since most of the documents pertaining to Russo-German military relations were "regularly and systematically" destroyed.[4] Nor does it seem likely that the Russians will make any revelations about their own share in these top secret operations.

This paucity of evidence, however, has been somewhat relieved by the recent opening to research of most of the documents of the German Foreign Ministry for the Weimar period.[5] It may seem surprising that these documents should contain any information on so secret a subject, because it has been generally accepted that the *Auswärtiges Amt,* while aware of the Reichswehr's affairs, knew very little about their details.[6] But the materials we shall examine here will prove otherwise. Not only do they throw new light on the role of Germany's civilian authorities in these secret relations, but they also confirm, correct, and supplement what information we already have. It is not proposed here to retrace in detail the whole course of Russo-German military collaboration, but rather to integrate these new materials into the story as it has been known thus far.

We still know very little about the beginnings of this collaboration, and the new documents do not add very much to our knowledge.[7] The first contacts between the German military and the Soviets apparently took place during the second half of 1919 and are closely associated with the name of Karl Radek. As Russian delegate to the founding congress of the German Communist party, Radek had been arrested in connection with the Spartacus

[3] The most important of these are the article by General Helm Speidel, "Reichswehr und Rote Armee," *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte,* I (Jan., 1953), 9–45, and the memorandum by Major Fritz Tschunke of Sept. 15, 1939, "General v. Seeckt nimmt die Verbindung zur Sowjetunion auf," *Der Monat,* I (Nov., 1948), 48–50 (hereafter cited as Tschunke Memorandum).

[4] Speidel, p. 9.

[5] Microfilms of these documents, prepared by the German Foreign Ministry Documents Project (sponsored by the United States, British, and French governments) are deposited in the National Archives, Washington, D. C. These do not comprise the complete documents for the Weimar period, however, since filming is still in progress.

[6] The memoirs of Herbert von Dirksen, *Moskau, Tokio, London* (Stuttgart, 1949), are typical in this respect. Dirksen, who served as ambassador to Russia from 1928 to 1933, admits the existence of Russo-German military relations but disclaims any knowledge of their details (see p. 81). Yet as we shall see, Dirksen was intimately acquainted with and involved in these relations.

[7] Recent accounts of the first postwar years are: George W. F. Hallgarten, "General Hans von Seeckt and Russia, 1920–1922," *Journal of Modern History,* XXI (Mar., 1949), 28–34; Edward Hallett Carr, *German-Soviet Relations between the Two World Wars 1919–1939* (Baltimore, Md., 1951), chaps. I–III; Theodor Schieder, *Die Probleme des Rapallo-Vertrags* (Cologne, 1956); Gerald Freund, *Unholy Alliance: Russian-German Relations from the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk to the Treaty of Berlin* (London, 1957), chaps. IV–V. The recent article by Alfred L. Smith, "The German General Staff and Russia 1919–1926," *Soviet Studies,* VIII (Oct., 1956) adds little and contains serious errors.

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Rebellion in February, 1919.[8] In a letter of March 11, 1919, addressed to the journalist Alfons Paquet, Radek expressed fear for his life and asked to be put in touch with Major von Schubert, formerly German military attaché in Russia and soon to be active in Russo-German military negotiations. "A military person," Radek added, "can be more helpful in these matters than anyone else."[9] It may have been due to Schubert's efforts that Radek, apparently in August, 1919, was transferred to less restricted quarters and was permitted to receive visitors. It was during the discussions that Radek held in his "political salon" that the idea of Russo-German collaboration, economic and perhaps military, was first broached, but it was to be some time before these vague feelers grew into specific negotiations. General von Seeckt, despite undoubted interest in some arrangement with the Soviet Union, seems to have steered clear of any direct contact with the Russians until after the latter had been defeated by Poland in the summer of 1920.[10] At that time, in August, 1920, the Russians used Seeckt's friend Enver Pasha to sound out the head of the Reichswehr about possible military collaboration. It may be assumed, however, that prior to that time contact had been established between the lower echelons of the two armies. This seems indicated from a letter by Baron von Maltzan (leading exponent in the *Ostabteilung* of the Foreign Ministry of a Russo-German *rapprochement*), in which he stated that Germany had established contact (*Tuchfühlung*) with the Soviet army during the Russo-Polish war.[11]

The first concrete negotiations concerning Russo-German military collaboration, according to present information, took place during 1921. We need not here review in detail the sketchy facts that have become known about these talks.[12] It is sufficient to say that by early 1921 a special section devoted to Russian affairs had been set up in the Reichswehr Ministry (the *Sondergruppe R*), and in the spring of that year conversations were begun between members of the Reichswehr (von Niedermayer, Tschunke, von Schubert, von Schleicher, Hasse, and occasionally von Seeckt) and Russian representatives

[8] Carr, pp. 17 ff.

[9] Brockdorff-Rantzau Nachlass, Auswärtiges Amt, Germany, microfilm, container 3441, serial no. 9105, frame nos. 234084 ff., National Archives, Washington, D. C. All documents hereafter cited are from the German Auswärtiges Amt collection now on microfilm in the National Archives and will be cited in the following manner: Brockdorff-Rantzau Nachlass, AA, 3441/9105/234084 ff.

[10] The statement in Smith, p. 126, that "some definite contacts" existed in 1919 between Seeckt and the Red Army is not convincing. The passages cited from the Tschunke Memorandum, moreover, contain serious errors of translation.

[11] Maltzan to Br.-R., Aug. 6, 1920, Brockdorff-Rantzau Nachlass, 3445/9105/237050 ff.

[12] The best account of these early negotiations is given in Freund, pp. 92 ff. See also John Wheeler-Bennett, *The Nemesis of Power: The German Army in Politics 1918–1945* (London, 1953), pp. 127–28; Castellan, pp. 151 ff.; Hallgarten, pp. 30–31. These and other accounts of the events of 1921 all show slight differences in fact and interpretation.

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(Kopp, Krassin, Karakhan, Radek, and others). The purpose of these negotiations was to reach some agreement by which Germany would provide financial and technical aid in building up Russia's armament industry (with possible concessions to German firms such as Junkers and Krupp) and obtain from Russia the necessary artillery ammunition that she was prohibited from manufacturing under the Treaty of Versailles.[13] The initial discussions, on the German side, were entirely under military direction, but the German chancellor, Joseph Wirth, was kept informed and gave his blessing, without, however, initiating his cabinet or President Ebert into these military secrets.[14] Baron von Maltzan tells of being consulted, some time before September, 1921, by Wirth and two leading members of the Reichswehr, about these Russo-German negotiations. These developments, in Maltzan's opinion, were "clearly in the interest of Russo-German policy," but neither the Foreign Ministry nor the German representative in Moscow should become involved in their technical details. He did insist, however, that the Foreign Ministry be kept informed of the general trends in Russo-German military collaboration, "in order to co-ordinate these with possible developments (*Nuancierungen*) in our relations with Russia." When Germany's first *chargé d'affaires,* the economist Wiedenfeld, went to Moscow in September, 1921, he was told by Maltzan that military negotiations were underway but that he was not to get involved in them. According to Maltzan, all future foreign ministers and ministers of finance were briefed about the Reichswehr's Russian operations by their predecessors and by the Reichswehr Ministry.[15]

Germany's negotiations with Russia, however, were not restricted to the military field. There were parallel talks on economic and political matters as well. The world received a startling revelation of how far the Russo-German *rapprochement* had gone when the two powers concluded the Treaty of Rapallo on April 16, 1922. Although it was ostensibly primarily an economic agreement, there could be no doubt about the treaty's political significance. Furthermore, almost from the start there were rumors that the agreement also contained secret military clauses.[16] A study of the German documents,

[13] Tschunke Memorandum, p. 49.

[14] Brockdorff-Rantzau Nachlass, 1013/1691/397479 ff.; Herbert Helbig, "Die Moskauer Mission des Grafen Brockdorff-Rantzau," *Forschungen zur Osteuropäischen Geschichte,* II (1955), 309.

[15] Memorandum of Mar. 18, 1924, Akten betr. Militärische Angelegenheiten mit Russland, Büro von Staatssekretär v. Schubert, AA (hereafter cited as Militärische Angelegenheiten), 2329/4564/162585 ff. The minister of finance had to be initiated since his department had to supply the necessary funds for the Reichswehr's activities in Russia.

[16] This rumor has already been discounted by several historians: Schieder, p. 41; Hans Rothfels in his introduction to Speidel, p. 10; Hans W. Gatzke, "Von Rapallo nach Berlin: Stresemann und die Deutsche Russlandpolitik," *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte,* IV (Jan., 1956), 4.

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however, does not bear out this suspicion.[17] There actually was a secret exchange of notes, but it dealt with economic matters.[18] On the other hand, there is evidence that the German military, in their simultaneous negotiations with Russia, were going far beyond what their government was ready to concede. According to Maltzan, Foreign Commissar Chicherin, on the eve of Rapallo, told Chancellor Wirth about "the promises which Herr N. [Niedermayer] had made in the name of the Chancellor to him, Chicherin." These proposals considerably exceeded the terms agreed on earlier between Wirth and the Reichswehr. "Wirth," Maltzan adds, "was extremely annoyed and in my presence corrected the statements which Herr N. had made to Chicherin."[19]

As this incident shows, the Reichswehr in 1922 was still pursuing a virtually independent course in its negotiations with Soviet authorities. According to Brockdorff-Rantzau, first German ambassador to Moscow after Rapallo, "the military authorities, until November, 1922, proceeded on their own in Moscow and Niedermayer presented the Russians with fantastic plans which they at first took seriously, but which subsequently were recognized as impossible."[20] To correct this dualism in German policy and to supervise the Reichswehr's dealings with the Soviet Union became one of the foremost tasks of the new ambassador.

Count Brockdorff-Rantzau, one of the outstanding political talents of the Weimar Republic, was one of the most decisive influences in Russo-German relations during the twenties.[21] His attitude toward the Soviet Union had already undergone several changes since the end of the war. Prior to the Treaty of Versailles, the Count had opposed any one-sided German alignment with the West against Russia or with Russia against the West.[22] Under

[17] Most of the documents on Rapallo can be found in Akten betr. Genua vom 10. Apr. bis 26. Apr. 1922, Büro des Reichministers, AA, 1734/3398/738276–1735/3398/739144.

[18] *Ibid.*, 1735/3398/738917.

[19] Militärische Angelegenheiten, 2329/4564/162585 ff.

[20] An den Herrn Reichskanzler Eigenhändig! Ganz Geheim! July 29, 1923, *ibid.*, 162539 ff.

[21] The authorized biography by Edgar Stern-Rubarth, *Graf von Brockdorff-Rantzau, Wanderer zwischen zwei Welten* (Berlin, 1929), hardly does justice to Br.'s complex personality. The article by Helbig uses some of Br.-R.'s papers and gives valuable new insights. The late German historian Erich Brandenburg, in 1932, had prepared a book on Br.-R., based on the Nachlass, but the Foreign Ministry prevented its publication as contrary to the national interest. The MS of Brandenburg's book is among the Brockdorff-Rantzau Nachlass (container nos. 1012–13), but it is quite incomplete, since many important events in Brockdorff's career could not yet be discussed at that time. With the additional material from the complete Nachlass (container nos. 3154, 3429–36, 3438–41, 3443–46), and with the Foreign Ministry documents, a definitive biography has now been planned by Professor Helbig.

[22] Br.-R. to Langwerth von Simmern, May 3, 1919, Brockdorff-Rantzau Nachlass, 3443/9105/235265. See also his letter to Ambassador von Romberg, May 18, 1919, *ibid.*, 235289.

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the impact of the harsh terms of Versailles, however, Brockdorff had abandoned his opposition to any Russo-German *rapprochement*. While fully aware of the dangers of Bolshevism, he felt that these were less of an evil "than the consequences of the undignified helotism into which our vengeful and rapacious enemies have forced us for generations to come."[23] To initiate economic and political relations with the Russians, Brockdorff-Rantzau, in 1920 and again in 1921, had proposed to head a German mission to Moscow. Yet nothing came of his plan.[24] Throughout this period he was in close contact with Maltzan, who was preparing the ground for what ultimately bore fruit at Rapallo.[25] The Treaty of Rapallo, however, much as it reflected Brockdorff-Rantzau's own desire for a *rapprochement* with Russia, by no means met with his full approval. He felt that both the time and the method of the negotiations had been unfortunate.[26] Yet when he was offered the ambassadorship by President Ebert in May, 1922, he admitted that the treaty might be a "turning point" in Germany's foreign policy, and under certain conditions he was ready to accept the appointment.[27]

It was during the summer of 1922, when confirmation of his appointment was still pending, that Brockdorff-Rantzau first became fully aware of the relations that had grown up between the Reichswehr and Russia. They were brought to his attention by Chancellor Wirth, and they immediately met with his opposition.[28] Much as he considered himself an "apostle of revenge" against the West, Rantzau opposed a military alliance with Russia as premature and dangerous, since it would lead to the isolation of Germany and her dependence upon the Soviet Union. The controversy that developed over this issue, especially between Brockdorff and Seeckt, almost prevented the former's going to Moscow.[29] Only after he received the necessary assurances that no military agreements would be concluded with the Russians behind his back did Brockdorff-Rantzau accept his assignment. A formal reconciliation with Seeckt took place in January, 1923, at which time, according to Rantzau, "agreement of our views on all important questions was established."[30]

But the army did not keep its promise of fully informing the ambassador about its dealings with the Russians. At the time Brockdorff took over his

[23] Draft memorandum, July, 1920, *ibid.*, 1013/1691/397293 ff.
[24] Draft memorandum, Apr. 24, 1921, *ibid.*, 397303 ff.; resumé of conversation with Ebert, Apr. 25, 1921, *ibid.*, 397309 ff.
[25] Letters of Maltzan to Br.-R., Aug., 1920–Jan., 1922, *ibid.*, 3445/9105/236822–27, 237050–54, 237141 ff.
[26] Undated memorandum by Br.-R., *ibid.*, 1013/1691/397320 ff.
[27] Unterredung mit Ebert am 10. Mai 1922, *ibid.*, 397333 ff.
[28] Helbig, pp. 307–308.
[29] *Ibid.*, pp. 303–13. See also Freund, pp. 127 ff.
[30] Memorandum of Br.-R., Jan. 29, 1923, Brockdorff-Rantzau Nachlass, 3446/9105/237399 ff.

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post, the talks that had begun in 1921 had not as yet led to any firm agreement. In December, 1922, therefore, the Russians asked that a leading member of the Reichswehr be entrusted with the negotiations,[31] and in February, 1923, General Otto Hasse, chief of the *Truppenamt* (General Staff), headed a military mission to Moscow. Brockdorff-Rantzau was informed of Hasse's appointment but did not participate in the negotiations. "As far as I can see," he complained in a letter to Foreign Minister von Rosenberg, "the military are again conducting their arbitrary policy. You know what I want! In the final analysis I have the same aim as the military. But I do not want to have the direction of things taken out of my hands and to have my policy upset. Radek told me recently: 'The fault of the Germans is that they cannot wait.' The man is right. The few among us who can wait and who know what they want should restrain their premature ambitions."[32] Hasse, Brockdorff added, had actually spoken of the "great war of liberation" which could be expected "in three to five years." If any of this leaks out, the Count concluded, "it may ruin the Reich." There was a good chance for such a leak, since Hasse had committed the blunder of writing an "extremely compromising" letter to the chief Russian negotiator, Rozengolts, which the Soviets might have used to blackmail Germany.[33]

The Hasse mission failed, partly because its leader was not the most adroit of negotiators, partly because Trotsky, who was commissar of war, became ill at the time.[34] To continue the negotiations, which Chicherin termed "decisive for the future relations of Russia to Germany,"[35] a second mission was sent in late April, 1923, under Lieutenant Colonel Mentzel and Major Tschunke. "I told the leader, when he called on me," Brockdorff wrote to Maltzan on April 28, 1923, "that I am the head of the house here, and that I wish to be kept regularly informed about the progress of negotiations."[36] Two weeks later, Brockdorff wrote: "Morsbach [Mentzel] is doubtless of better caliber than the impossible Heller [Hasse] and has achieved certain results."[37] But soon again he complained that Mentzel had failed to tell him "about several important points" and had been much too hasty in his dealings with the Russians, offering them thirty-five million goldmarks without getting any-

[31] Maltzan to Br.-R., Dec. 15, 1922, *ibid.*, 3431/9101/225086.
[32] Br.-R. to Rosenberg, Mar. 1, 1923, Akten betr. Russland, Büro des Reichministers, AA, 1406/2860/552825 ff.
[33] Br.-R. to Maltzan, May 16, 1923, Brockdorff-Rantzau Nachlass, 3431/9101/225606.
[34] See fn. 32.
[35] Br.-R. to Maltzan, Apr. 18, 1923, Brockdorff-Rantzau Nachlass, 3431/9101/224831 ff. See also Br.-R. to Cuno, Apr. 10, 1923, Militärische Angelegenheiten, 2329/4564/162521.
[36] Brockdorff-Rantzau Nachlass, 3431/9101/224826.
[37] Br.-R. to Maltzan, May 16, 1923, *ibid.*, 225606.

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thing in return. This German eagerness, Brockdorff felt, was unnecessary, since the Russians "need us more than we need them."[38]

This latter fact seemed borne out as the Russians kept urging that the tentative arrangement reached with Mentzel be made more definite.[39] In late June, the Reichswehr and the Foreign Ministry agreed among themselves "to continue and extend the existing business," that is, the military relations with Russia.[40] A few days later, Chancellor Cuno met with Minister of Finance Hermes, Minister of Reconstruction Albert, and Secretary of State Maltzan to discuss the financing of the Russian undertakings, about the importance of which there seemed to be general agreement.[41] To meet Russia's requests for some more definite understanding, Brockdorff-Rantzau now suggested that a Soviet delegate be invited to Berlin.[42] The Russians hesitated at first to accept the invitation, since they were not told what exactly was to be discussed at the meeting and since the Reichswehr tried to discourage their visit.[43] Finally, on July 22, 1923, Rozengolts (or Raschin)[44] arrived in Berlin, and a week later he met with Germany's top civilian officials.

Prior to this meeting, Brockdorff-Rantzau drew up a memorandum for Chancellor Cuno in which he stated his views on the military question. "The basic idea behind Chancellor Wirth's Russian policy," Brockdorff wrote, "was sound. But its execution was muddled and therefore a failure." In a desire "not to burden the government with the responsibility for the negotiations," Wirth had not kept well enough informed about the Reichswehr's negotiations, thus permitting the latter to embark on schemes which were far more advantageous to Russia than to Germany. In the meantime, Brockdorff-Rantzau continued, the negotiations had taken on political significance and therefore should now be conducted by political rather than military authorities. For the future the Count proposed "not only to continue but to extend the existing collaboration, but only on certain military-technical and political conditions." There was to be a virtual German monopoly in those Russian

[38] Br.-R. to Maltzan, June 13, 1923, *ibid.*, 225527 ff. Additional information about the Hasse and Mentzel missions may be found in Militärische Angelegenheiten, 2329/4564/162539 ff., 162676 ff. The references in Castellan, pp. 155–63, are based primarily on French intelligence reports and are not always clear or correct.

[39] Memorandum by Br.-R., Sept. 10, 1923, reporting complaint by Chicherin of June 15, 1923, Militärische Angelegenheiten, 2329/4564/162676 ff.

[40] Maltzan to Br.-R., June 28, 1923, *ibid.*, 162738.

[41] Memorandum of July 12, 1923, *ibid.*, 162559.

[42] Br.-R. to Cuno, June 16, 1923, *ibid.*, 162523; memorandum by Br.-R., Sept. 10, 1923, *ibid.*, 162676 ff. Brockdorff felt that a Russian visit to Berlin would implicate the Soviets sufficiently so that they could not ever use the Hasse letter to Rozengolts for blackmail purposes.

[43] Br.-R. to Maltzan, June 30 and July 14, 1923, *ibid.*, 162727 ff.

[44] According to Gustav Hilger and Alfred G. Meyer, *The Incompatible Allies: A Memoir-History of German-Soviet Relations 1918–1941* (New York, 1953), p. 194, Rozengolts was a member of the Revolutionary Military Council and chief of the central board of the Soviet air force.

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armament firms that received German aid, so that no other power could invest in these works and no foreign nationals other than Germans could be employed in them. About political conditions, Brockdorff-Rantzau said: "There can be no question of a political or military alliance. But we should try to secure ourselves against the most dangerous eventuality, an attack by Poland." Since Poland would not dare launch such an attack without the aid of France, "such an arrangement would also indirectly protect us against a French attack." These conditions, Brockdorff felt, could be obtained, "since in the first place Russia needs us for the reconstruction of her armaments industry, and needs us urgently, because she can find no other power for that purpose; and in the second place, since a successful attack by Poland against Germany, strengthening Poland, would be so dangerous to Russia that she will have a vital interest in preventing such a development."[45]

As this memorandum shows, Brockdorff-Rantzau was no longer opposed to Germany's military policy in Russia. As he had said earlier, his aims were actually the same as those of the Reichswehr. He merely differed in his methods. By being less eager, he felt, Germany could gain greater concessions from the Russians, not only militarily but politically. It was as an aid to his political plans that Brockdorff-Rantzau valued and supported the military ties being developed by the Reichswehr. But how did he envisage Germany's relations with Russia, if he did not want a military or political alliance? An earlier memorandum, written before he went to Moscow, gives the answer.[46] "The immediate aim of our policy," Brockdorff had written in August, 1922, "must be to get a Russian pledge to come to our aid in case of an Allied attack against Germany's frontiers." Such a pledge, the Count felt, was not a military alliance but a mere defensive arrangement, which could be easily explained away in case its existence became known abroad. In return for such a concession, Germany would aid in the military and economic reconstruction of Russia. Yet "the promotion of Russia's military strength," Brockdorff-Rantzau concluded, "must only go so far as is necessary to keep Poland and the Little Entente in check and to aid a development toward the East (India)."[47]

These, then, were the aims of Brockdorff-Rantzau and of Chancellor Cuno in their negotiations with Rozengolts. The meeting with the Russians (Rozengolts, Krestinsky, and Ustinov) took place in utmost secrecy on July 30, 1923, at the apartment of Count Ernst Rantzau, Brockdorff's

[45] An den Herrn Reichskanzler Eigenhändig! Ganz Geheim! July 29, 1923, Militärische Angelegenheiten, 2329/4564/162539 ff.; memorandum by Br.-R., *ibid.*, 162557 ff.

[46] Memorandum of late Aug., 1922, Brockdorff-Rantzau Nachlass, 1013/1691/397476 ff.

[47] Brockdorff had earlier thought of using Russia against Britain in India, memorandum of July 17, 1922, *ibid.*, 397396 ff.

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brother.[48] It lasted for almost three hours, and its tone was "informal and amicable." Cuno began by relating how, as director of the Hamburg-America Line, he had been one of the first to advocate close economic ties with the Soviet Union. He then stated the two conditions which Brockdorff-Rantzau had outlined in his memorandum the previous day—a special position for Germany in the development of Russia's military industry and some form of protection for Germany against attack, especially from Poland. Rozengolts criticized Germany for not doing enough on her own to prepare for such an attack,[49] but Cuno pointed out that Germany "had to avoid giving the impression of preparing for a war of revenge. The more inconspicuous the preparations were made, the more advantageous they were." He added "that more was being done to repel an enemy attack than was known even in initiated circles." Rozengolts on the whole seems to have reacted favorably to Cuno's proposals, and he promised a written reply from his government. A tentative plan covering the expansion of Russia's armament industry and the production of war material for Germany was subsequently agreed upon between the Reichswehr and Rozengolts. The negotiations were to be concluded by Brockdorff-Rantzau in Moscow.

The Count himself was thoroughly satisfied with the results of the meeting. The fact that the Russians had come to Berlin and had promised to make written counterproposals relieved Germany of the sole onus in case the negotiations should become known outside. Furthermore, the program for Russo-German military collaboration had now been combined with political conditions which, if they were not honored by the Russians, could serve as an excuse for withdrawing Germany's military aid.[50] The next step was to provide the necessary funds for the undertakings. The sum of thirty-five million goldmarks which Mentzel had promised the Russians was no longer considered adequate and was now raised to seventy-five million. It took a series of meetings between government officials, Reichswehr members, and industrialists before this increased amount was appropriated. At one point Brockdorff-Rantzau threatened that he would "refuse to accept responsibility for the political relations between Germany and Russia" if the money was not granted, whereupon the president of the Reichsbank, Havenstein, agreed to

[48] Ganz geheime Aufzeichnung, July 31, 1923, signed by Br.-R. and Cuno, Militärische Angelegenheiten, 2329/4564/102550 ff.

[49] According to an earlier report by Mentzel, General Lebedev, Soviet chief of staff, had told him that Germany "was too weak for Russia to consider joint military action." Br.-R. to Maltzan, May 16, 1923, Brockdorff-Rantzau Nachlass, 3431/9101/225606.

[50] Memorandum by Br.-R., Sept. 10, 1923, Militärische Angelegenheiten, 2329/4564/162-676 ff.

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the additional amount, which seriously strained the resources of the Reich.[51]

By the time Brockdorff-Rantzau was ready to return to Moscow, therefore, chances for a far-reaching Russo-German agreement on military and political matters seemed promising indeed. But at this point, several things went wrong. On the eve of his departure, Brockdorff paid a call on President Ebert and on Stresemann, the latter having recently succeeded Cuno as chancellor. Both men, it turned out, were deeply opposed to any kind of military deal with the Soviet Union and asked that any German collaboration with Russia be restricted entirely to economic matters.[52] In view of such new directives from his superiors, Brockdorff-Rantzau, upon his return to Moscow, did not seriously press the terms that had been discussed with Rozengolts. When Radek promised him an early Russian reply to Germany's proposals, the Count treated the whole matter as "academic." This sudden German coolness naturally irritated Radek. "You cannot expect," he exclaimed, "that for the measly millions you offer us, we shall undertake any one-sided political obligation. As for the monopoly you demand for German industry, we have not the slightest intention of granting it. On the contrary, we take everything military we need wherever we can find it. Thus we have bought airplanes from France and will also get some from England."[53] Brockdorff's calculation that the Russians needed Germany more than Germany needed Russia thus seemed to be overly optimistic.

To confuse matters still further, the German military, despite instructions that future negotiations were to be carried on solely by Brockdorff-Rantzau, had resumed their direct talks with the Russians even before the Count's return. On August 22, a delegation consisting of "Direktor Eckhardt, Direktor Fritz Teichmann (Gesellschaft zur Förderung gewerblicher Unternehmungen G.m.b.H.), Direktor Freiherr von Hagen (Chemische Werke Stolzenberg, Hamburg), [and] Professor Egon Graf" arrived in Moscow.[54] Maltzan had warned the German *chargé d'affaires* to tell the delegation "not to enter

[51] Br.-R.'s memorandum for Stresemann, Feb. 20, 1924, Brockdorff-Rantzau Nachlass, 3432/9101/226805 ff.

[52] *Ibid.* Stresemann's and Ebert's stand is confirmed by Stresemann's own statement, in Nachlass des Reichsministers Dr. Gustav Stresemann, Politisches Archiv, AA (hereafter cited as Stresemann Nachlass), 3167/7337/163462. On Stresemann's attitude toward Russo-German military relations see Hans W. Gatzke, *Stresemann and the Rearmament of Germany* (Baltimore, Md., 1954), chap. IV. The conclusions stated there are amply supported by the Foreign Ministry documents.

[53] Br.-R.'s memorandum to Stresemann, Feb. 20, 1924, Brockdorff-Rantzau Nachlass, 3432/9101/226805 ff.

[54] Maltzan to *chargé d'affaires* in Moscow, Aug. 13, 1923, *ibid.*, 162731. Teichmann, i.e., Tschunke, headed the *Gefu,* an organization founded by the Reichswehr to direct its military-industrial relations with Russia. The firm of Stolzenberg was negotiating about a poison gas factory in Russia. Hagen, on his way to or from Russia, became ill and died in a Riga hotel, leaving a briefcase full of secret military documents which his doctor turned over to the German embassy. *Ibid.*, 162618, 162674.

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into any binding agreements before the return of the ambassador,"[55] but this, apparently, did not keep the military from pursuing their usual independent tactics.

By this time, the Reichswehr had established its own headquarters in Moscow, the *Zentrale Moskau* or *Z. Mo.*[56] There had already been a heated debate with Brockdorff-Rantzau over the appointment of a chief Reichswehr representative in Russia. The ambassador's choice was Major Fischer of the *Sondergruppe R,* whom he had known during the Versailles negotiations and whom he valued as experienced and tactful.[57] Instead, the Reichswehr insisted on either Tschunke or Niedermayer, neither of whom Brockdorff liked.[58] Yet both Tschunke and Niedermayer appeared in Russia in the fall of 1923, and while Brockdorff managed to get on with Tschunke, he was deeply suspicious of Niedermayer, whom he considered a "fantastic and unscrupulous adventurer."[59] The Reichswehr, however, by "retiring" Niedermayer and insisting that he had become "older and quieter" since his debut in Russia in 1921, was able to keep him in Moscow.[60] Yet it seems to have been Tschunke who at first functioned as the Reichswehr's chief representative in Russia. The ultimate head of the *Zentrale Moskau,* Colonel von der Lieth-Thomsen, was at this time still in Berlin, although he did visit Russia in October, 1923, and March, 1924, "to inspect, with Rozengolts' permission, Russia's air-force and aircraft industry."[61]

Because of Ebert's and Stresemann's opposition to any military dealings with Russia, and in order to stop the Reichswehr's independent negotiations, Brockdorff-Rantzau, in February, 1924, suggested that Germany drastically curtail her Russian activities. "I urgently recommend," he wrote to Stresemann, who was now foreign minister, "not to spend a penny of German money for war materials in Russia, to limit all orders to a minimum and to use the credits granted by the Reich to support German industries in Russia, not for military purposes, but industries that indirectly serve rearmament and that, in case of need, can be transformed into war industries." A draft agree-

[55] Maltzan to *chargé d'affaires* in Moscow, Aug. 22, 1923, *ibid.,* 162732.

[56] Speidel, p. 20.

[57] See fn. 32.

[58] Br.-R. to Maltzan, Apr. 13, 1923, Brockdorff-Rantzau Nachlass, 3431/9101/224853.

[59] Br.-R. to Maltzan, Nov. 29, 1923, *ibid.,* 225273. Major Oskar Ritter von Niedermayer, or Neumann, apparently had made far-reaching promises to the Russians about German deliveries of coal, which never materialized and which, in Soviet circles, made the term "Neumann coals" synonymous with unkept promises. Br.-R. to Maltzan, Apr. 13, 1923, *ibid.,* 224853. On Niedermayer's colorful career during World Wars I and II, see Dirksen, pp. 133–34, and Hilger, pp. 194 ff.

[60] Maltzan to Br.-R., Dec. 6, 1923, Brockdorff-Rantzau Nachlass, 3431/9101/225256 ff.; memorandum by Maltzan, Mar. 18, 1923, Militärische Angelegenheiten, 2329/4564/162588.

[61] Hasse to Maltzan, Oct. 4, 1923, Militärische Angelegenheiten, 2329/4564/162735; Hasse to Staatssekretär von Schubert, Mar. 1, 1924, *ibid.,* 162584.

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ment, Brockdorff added, which a certain "Herr Brown" was just then bringing from Berlin, seemed to fit the above requirements.[62] When Brown got to Moscow, he found that the military had already entered into such "careless and catastrophic" agreements and had so committed Germany, that, according to Brockdorff-Rantzau, "we cannot suddenly abandon this whole project without seriously endangering our political relations with Russia." There was some hope, Brockdorff added, that the Reichswehr members might disagree among themselves over the Russian business and the "gentlemen of the *Fachministerium* might thus counteract and neutralize each other."[63]

The fact that there was disagreement not only between Reichswehr and Foreign Ministry but even within the Reichswehr itself came to light in a heart-to-heart talk between Brockdorff-Rantzau and Niedermayer. Like nothing else, it showed the confusion which reigned in Russo-German military relations. Niedermayer apparently had tried for some time to see the ambassador, in order to iron out some of their differences. Brockdorff complained about Niedermayer's past blunders, including the "Neumann coals,"[64] but Niedermayer insisted that everything he had done had been on instructions from his superiors, who then had left him in the lurch. "As a soldier his hands were tied, and there were many things he could not speak about." But now he was ready to act, if need be, against his superiors, "to keep the guilty from doing any more harm." According to Niedermayer "the agreements which thus far had been concluded were so catastrophic that in his opinion Herr von S. [Seeckt] would have to contact the foreign minister personally" to save the situation. The main fault, Niedermayer said, lay with Mentzel, Tschunke, and Eckhardt, and he added: "The sad part is that some gentlemen have acted from motives of personal ambition, and in an attempt to conclude treaties at all cost, have committed themselves to the Russians in the most irresponsible way." Brockdorff, who recognized Niedermayer's good intentions in thus turning against his comrades and superiors, replied that he wanted to avoid a major showdown. The best solution, he said, would be to annul the agreements with Russia. Since for political reasons that could not be done, some way had to be found to change the existing military collaboration gradually into a primarily economic one.[65]

There is no evidence that Brockdorff-Rantzau's aim to deemphasize the

[62] Br.-R.'s memorandum to Stresemann, Feb. 20, 1924, Brockdorff-Rantzau Nachlass, 3432/9101/226805 ff. Brown, according to Br.-R., was "a most outstanding businessman and a likeable person"; see also Br.-R. to *chargé d'affaires* Radowitz, Feb. 27, 1924, Militärische Angelegenheiten, 2329/4564/162583.

[63] Br.-R. to Stresemann, Apr. 3, 1924, *ibid.*, 2329/4564/162591 ff.

[64] See fn. 59.

[65] Br.-R.'s memorandum of Apr. 4, 1924, Militärische Angelegenheiten, 2329/4564/162594 ff.

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Reichswehr's dealings with Russia had any success. It seems that the commitments which the army had already made were such that they could not be abandoned without harmful political repercussions. And as the Foreign Ministry under the direction of Stresemann and Secretary of State von Schubert (who had succeeded Maltzan) now gradually embarked on its *rapprochement* with the West, the military wire between Berlin and Moscow assumed new importance, especially to those who, like Brockdorff-Rantzau, advocated an eastern orientation of German foreign policy.[66]

How far exactly the military contacts between Germany and Russia had developed by this time is difficult to say. By the middle of 1924, the *Gesellschaft zur Förderung gewerblicher Unternehmungen G. m.b.H.* or *Gefu,* an organization established by the Reichswehr in Berlin to direct its military-industrial relations with Russia, and the *Z. Mo.* in Moscow certainly were going concerns, as were the Junkers, Stolzenberg, and Krupp concessions in various parts of Russia.[67] Prior to 1925, Russo-German military collaboration consisted almost exclusively of industrial production for military purposes, with Germany supplying financial and technical aid and in some cases establishing German firms on Russian soil. But this form of collaboration, it seems, had not been very successful. Beginning in 1924, therefore, Germany embarked on a new round of activities in the Soviet Union, concerned not so much with the production but with the testing of war materials and with the training of German military personnel in the use of weapons and equipment forbidden under the Treaty of Versailles.[68] Ultimately the Reichswehr operated three such experimental and training stations in Russia: Lipetsk (airplanes), Saratov (gas), and Kazan (tanks).[69] This innovation, however, did not mean that the military collaboration in the industrial field was abandoned. In early 1926 the *Gefu* was dissolved (apparently because it had never worked too well and had misused its funds for financial speculations in

[66] On the political relations between Germany and Russia during these crucial years, see Gatzke, "Von Rapallo nach Berlin," pp. 7 ff.

[67] Tschunke Memorandum, p. 49; Castellan, pp. 163 ff. The Foreign Ministry documents do not provide much new material on these various operations, except for the Junkers works at Fili. Junkers was in a special category since it was subsidized by the German government. Russia's failure to avail herself sufficiently of Junkers' services ultimately led to a crisis in which Junkers threatened to terminate its Russian ventures. For material on Junkers' operations in Russia see Entwicklung der Beziehungen zwischen Junkers und dem Reich bezüglich der Zusammenarbeit in Russland, Junkers geheim, Gesandtschaft Moskau, AA, 3663/9472/273734–843, esp. 273736 ff.; Deutsch-Russische Luftverkehrsgesellschaft "Junkerswerke," 1922–32, *ibid.,* 3662/9444/273078–309; Akten betr. Unternehmungen der Junkerswerke in Russland, Büro von Staatssekretär v. Schubert, AA, 2331/4564/163752 ff.; Militärische Angelegenheiten, 2329/4564/162622 ff., 162741 ff., 162784 ff.

[68] Castellan, pp. 168 ff.

[69] For a detailed discussion of these stations, see *ibid.,* pp. 175 ff. Speidel, p. 18, dates Lipetsk from 1924, Saratov from 1927–28, and Kazan from 1930. The latter, however, seems to have been in operation as early as 1926.

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Holland),[70] and its activities were taken over by a new body, the *Wirtschaftskontor* or *Wiko*.[71]

As for the relations between the Moscow embassy and the *Zentrale Moskau,* the talk between Brockdorff-Rantzau and Niedermayer seemed to have cleared the air; with the assignment of Colonel Thomsen to duty in Moscow (probably in May, 1924), relations became quite cordial.[72] In a letter to Brockdorff-Rantzau in 1926, Thomsen speaks of the ambassador as "Germany's most important man" and blesses his own good fortune for having won Brockdorff's confidence and for having been trained in "the school of his thoughts and decisions."[73] The improved relations between embassy and *Z. Mo.* manifested themselves in several ways. While in the past the communications between *Z. Mo.* and *Gefu* had been via the *Narkomindel* and Russian couriers[74] (since the Reichswehr was afraid that the Foreign Ministry would open and read its letters), the Reichswehr now used the courier and code services of the Moscow embassy, so that all routine communications between *Z. Mo.* and the Reichswehr Ministry became known to the embassy and the Foreign Ministry.[75] In addition, Brockdorff now began taking a hand himself in Germany's military dealings with Russia. When there was danger, in April, 1924, of Junkers abandoning its Russian subsidiary because neither the Reichswehr nor Russia was buying enough of its planes, Brockdorff intervened and told Berlin that the liquidation of Junkers' Russian interests "must be avoided at all cost."[76] A few weeks later the ambassador brought the matter to Trotsky's personal attention, complaining that Russia appeared rather lukewarm in her military dealings with Germany.[77]

While the ambassador thus showed himself an able advocate of the

[70] Memorandum by Dirksen, Dec. 18, 1925, Militärische Angelegenheiten, 2329/4564/162663; memorandum by Br.-R., Jan. 18, 1926, *ibid.,* 162667 ff.

[71] Castellan, pp. 197 ff.

[72] It is difficult to determine who was head of *Z. Mo.* in 1924. Both Thomsen and Niedermayer are mentioned simultaneously as the Reichswehr's representatives in Moscow. Militärische Angelegenheiten, 2329/4564/162659. As late as January, 1926, Br.-R. still asked that one single person be charged with the Reichswehr's affairs in Russia. *Ibid.,* 162667 ff. Hilger, pp. 196–97, places Niedermayer at the head of *Z. Mo.* until 1932 and Thomsen from then on. The documents show, however, that Thomsen was in charge until March 15, 1928, at which time Niedermayer took over. Militärische Angelegenheiten, 2330/4564/163194.

[73] Oberst a.D. von der Lieth-Thomsen to Br.-R., May 29, 1926, Brockdorff-Rantzau Nachlass, 3429/9101/223703. See also Helbig, p. 324. Thomsen had been the senior German air force officer in World War I.

[74] Br.-R.'s memorandum of Apr. 4, 1924, Militärische Angelegenheiten, 2329/4564/162594 ff.

[75] See the series of so-called Fischertelegramme, named after Major Fischer (pseudonym Frank), who was the Reichswehr's liaison with the Foreign Ministry, in Büro von Staatssekretär v. Schubert, AA, 2329/4564/162726 ff., 2330/4564/163508 ff. Liaison for the Foreign Ministry was maintained by Dirksen.

[76] Akten betr. Russland, Büro des Reichsministers, AA, 1407/2860/553774 ff., 553783 ff.

[77] Br.-R.'s report on a conversation with Trotsky, June 9, 1924, Stresemann Nachlass, 3165/7414/175334 ff.

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Reichswehr's interests, direct contacts between Reichswehr and Red Army continued. In June, 1924, Major Fischer, Captain Vogt, and Colonel Thomsen conferred with Rozengolts about sending ten German fliers to the Soviet Union.[78] In January, 1925, Rozengolts visited Berlin to negotiate with General Hasse.[79] In July, 1925, Secretary of State von Schubert informed Brockdorff-Rantzau that a delegation of German officers in mufti was planning to participate in the Red Army's maneuvers the following month and that in return several high-ranking Russian officers, camouflaged as "Bulgarians" were to visit the Reichswehr's fall maneuvers.[80] Brockdorff was none too enthusiastic about these visits, since the news might leak out, especially since the Russians seemed less interested in secrecy than the Germans. Yet he also realized that the exchange might "help the political relations between the two countries." He added: "It would be utopian, however, to hope that this collaboration might have any effect upon the often mentioned 'common war aim'" (a reference to possible joint Russo-German action against Poland).[81] A subsequent report from the Reichswehr delegation itself told of the friendly reception it had found in Russia: "Greatest assistance in every respect, unhampered access to all installations and operations. Personal relations extremely polite. . . ."[82]

Even though relations between the embassy and the *Zentrale Moskau* had improved, they still were far from what they might have been. What was still more important, neither military nor civilian negotiators had thus far been able to derive any political benefits from Germany's military dealings with Russia. To be sure, the Russians, beginning in December, 1924, had dropped hints about a military alliance with Germany,[83] but Brockdorff persisted in his opposition to anything so far-reaching. What he wanted was a political agreement that would serve as a counterweight to Germany's growing involvement with the West and at the same time might be used to put pressure on Poland. In January, 1926, the ambassador once again criticized Germany's Russian policy. "The collaboration in military reconstruction," he wrote, "ac-

[78] *Ibid.*

[79] Telegram from Lieth (i.e., Thomsen) via Rantzau to Frank (i.e., Fischer) via Schubert, Militärische Angelegenheiten, 2329/4564/162758.

[80] Schubert to Br.-R., July 28, 1925, Akten betr. Rückwirkung der Garantiepaktverhandlungen auf die Deutsch-Russischen Beziehungen (hereafter cited as Akten betr. Rückwirkung), Büro von Staatssekretär v. Schubert, AA, 2314/4562/155661.

[81] Br.-R. to Schubert, July 31, 1925, *ibid.*, 155703.

[82] Telegram from Frank-Lieth via Rantzau to Hoffmeister via Schubert, Aug. 24, 1925, Militärische Angelegenheiten, 2329/4564/162821. This conflicts with Speidel, p. 36, who states that the Germans were not given much insight into Russian military conditions. Germany may have been more liberal in initiating Soviet officers into her military planning, but she was also aware of the value of thus indoctrinating Russian officers. Russische Militärangelegenheiten, Handakten von Herrn Min. Dir. von Dirksen, AA, 3668/9481/276403.

[83] Akten betr. Rückwirkung, 2313/4562/154859 ff.

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cording to leading Russian government circles, constitutes the most important link between Germany and the Soviet Union. Yet in its present form this collaboration, unfortunately, has brought no *political* advantages worth mentioning to *us*. The reason is that the negotiations which the German military have conducted with Russia have been carried on without sufficient contact with Germany's leading political figures." He himself, Brockdorff charged, "had *never* been reliably informed about the actual status of the negotiations" and thus could not obtain the political and economic advantages he hoped to get from Russia in return for military concessions. To clear up this area of conflict between Reichswehr and civilian authorities, Brockdorff demanded that the Reichswehr be prevented from maintaining direct relations with Soviet politicians, that a single representative of the Reichswehr (Colonel von der Lieth-Thomsen) be appointed in Russia, who should be responsible to the ambassador, and that the ambassador be given exclusive control over German funds to be spent for military purposes in the Soviet Union. This last point was the only guarantee, Brockdorff felt, that these funds would be used not merely for the military strengthening of Russia but to procure war materials for Germany.[84]

Brockdorff-Rantzau, however, did not get very far with his suggestions. At that moment Germany was actually on the verge of concluding a neutrality agreement with Russia; it was signed in Berlin on April 24, 1926.[85] While the final negotiations were still under way, a Russian mission, headed by Vice Commissar of War Unshlikht, visited Berlin.[86] At a luncheon given by Soviet ambassador Krestinsky and attended by Chancellor Luther, Stresemann, Schubert, Seeckt, and General Wetzell, Unshlikht told of vast Russian plans for the production of heavy artillery, poison gas, and precision instruments. For this, he said, Russia needed Germany's financial support and guarantees that Germany would buy a certain share of her military products. In return Germany might send officers to be trained at these new industrial centers. The German civilians, it seems, were quite stunned by these sudden overtures. The chancellor replied that Germany, of course, was ready to collaborate with Russia "in all projects of peace," but he did not comment any further or show any approval of Unshlikht's proposals. "The Russians," one of the participants commented afterwards, "kept talking about armaments, while we kept talking about other things." This did not seem to faze

[84] Memorandum of Jan. 18, 1926, Militärische Angelegenheiten, 2329/4564/162667 ff.; memorandum of Jan. 21, 1926, *ibid.*, 162673 ff. Italics in the original.

[85] Gatzke, "Von Rapallo nach Berlin," pp. 14–24. The existence of a secret understanding in connection with the Treaty of Berlin mentioned here as a possibility (pp. 23–24) is not supported by the German documents that have become available since the article was written.

[86] Hilger and Meyer, p. 202.

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Unshlikht. He had already discussed this matter with the Reichswehr, he said, and merely wanted the government's reaction. Seeckt remained silent throughout.[87]

Here, then, the Reichswehr had again embarked on a venture without consulting its civilian colleagues. What was the government to do? In the draft of a letter to Brockdorff-Rantzau, Secretary of State Schubert discussed the pros and cons of the Unshlikht plan. Its advantages, both military and political, were obvious, since it would give Germany a hold over Russia that might be used to influence the latter's relations with France and Poland. Yet there were also important disadvantages. If such a venture became known, Schubert wrote, "we would lose all our political credit in the world." Germany's military dealings with Russia in the past "could be explained and excused on the basis of our political situation after Versailles. But an extension of our activities at this point, between Locarno and Geneva [i.e., Germany's entry into the League] would be judged a great deal more harshly." On balance, therefore, Schubert and Stresemann felt "that to pursue this project cannot be reconciled with the general lines of our policy."[88]

As this and earlier statements show, much of the government's attitude toward the Reichswehr's relations with Russia was determined by an ever present fear that the rest of the world might find out about the clandestine dealings, leaving Germany isolated and entirely dependent upon the Soviet Union. The Reichswehr, on the other hand, seems to have been much less worried about such a possibility. In the summer of 1926, an exchange of political prisoners was being discussed between Germany and Russia, as a friendly gesture connected with the Treaty of Berlin.[89] At one point the negotiations threatened to break down over a certain Skoblevsky, a Soviet citizen, who had been convicted in Germany for plotting the assassination of several leading citizens, including General von Seeckt.[90] The Russians were very eager to secure the release of this top agent, but the Germans refused to free so dangerous a criminal. Brockdorff-Rantzau, in an urgent letter to Stresemann, pointed out that such refusal might have the most serious consequences. The Russians, he wrote, would probably act with "ruthless brutality," revealing to the world their military agreements with Germany. "I have emphasized more than once," he warned, "that we are in the hands of political blackmailers."[91] Most of the cabinet, under Brockdorff's

[87] Militärische Angelegenheiten, 2329/4564/162694 ff.
[88] Schubert to Br.-R., Apr. 3, 1926, *ibid.*, 162703 ff., 162711.
[89] For details see Akten betr. Deutsch-Russischer Gefangenenaustausch, Büro von Staatssekretär v. Schubert, AA, 2330/4564/163532 ff., 163354 ff., 2331/4564/163701 ff.
[90] For details of the Skoblevsky case, see *ibid.*, 2330/4564/163576 ff.
[91] Br.-R. to Stresemann, July 5, 1926, *ibid.*, 163601 ff.

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pressure, gradually came around to his views. Only Reichswehrminister Gessler, supported by Colonel von Schleicher and Major Fischer, opposed the freeing of Skoblevsky as endangering the security of the Reich. There was no reason to fear, Gessler insisted, that Russia would reveal any secrets; if there were, he would prefer to terminate Germany's military activities in Russia rather than free Skoblevsky![92] The matter was finally settled as Brockdorff had suggested, but Gessler remained adamant to the end, threatening even to resign.[93]

It was in connection with the Skoblevsky discussions that the Foreign Ministry tried to clarify how far exactly Germany's military relations with Russia were violating the terms of the Versailles Treaty. In the first place (its memorandum on the subject[94] stated), Germany supported, with money and personnel, "parts of Russia's armament industry and the firm of Junkers in Moscow," in order to import their products into Germany. This violated Article 170 of the Treaty. A similar partnership existed for the poison-gas works at Ivoshenko, which produced gas for import into Germany. This was in violation of Article 171. Furthermore, Germany had sent repeated military, naval, and air missions to the Soviet Union—Hasse, Mentzel, Fischer, Wilberg, Vogt, and Spindler. These violated Article 179 of the Treaty of Versailles. In addition, "with the knowledge and support of the German government, former officers, sometimes especially deactivated for this purpose, have been active as instructors with the Red airforce."[95] Besides these clear violations, the Foreign Ministry memorandum mentioned other German activities in Russia, "which perhaps did not constitute a direct violation of the letter of Versailles," but which, "if they became known, might compromise the German government." In this category belonged Germany's participation in Russian military industries even if their products were not sent to Germany and the training of German personnel at Lipetsk and Kazan.

Germany's concern over possible detection of these illicit relations with the Soviet Union, however, was really unnecessary. The Western powers had known for some time that there was more to Russo-German relations than met the eye, and French and Polish intelligence were remarkably well informed about these matters.[96] During the second half of 1926, moreover, a

[92] Discussion between Schubert, Gessler, Dirksen, Hencke, Schleicher, and Fischer, July 14, 1926, *ibid.*, 163632 ff.

[93] *Ibid.*, 163662–743.

[94] Memorandum by Legationssekretär Hencke, July 12, 1926, Militärische Angelegenheiten, 2330/4564/163630.

[95] About this phase of Russo-German collaboration, little has been known thus far. See Castellan, p. 159.

[96] Castellan, *passim*. See also Report of Generalkonsul Kessler to Br.-R., Nov. 17, 1924, Militärische Angelegenheiten, 2329/4564/162598.

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series of "revelations" occurred, ironically enough not in Russia but in Germany. Despite their sensational nature, these incidents left no mark upon Germany's relations with the West. There had been signs during the summer of 1926 that the Reichswehr was getting ready to move to Germany large quantities of the grenades that had been produced in Russia over the past years.[97] Both Brockdorff-Rantzau and Dirksen had warned the Reichswehr against so dangerous an operation at a time when Germany was about to enter the League of Nations, but they were told that all necessary precautions would be taken.[98] The Reichswehr, apparently, was not careful enough, because on December 3 and 6, 1926, the *Manchester Guardian,* in two articles, not only told all about the transport of ammunition from Leningrad to Stettin but also revealed many other aspects of Russo-German military collaboration.[99] What these articles failed to reveal was supplied in a sensational speech delivered by Socialist deputy Scheidemann before the Reichstag on December 16.[100] Here was the situation which Brockdorff-Rantzau and others had dreaded for years. As might be expected, both Germany and Russia were deeply worried about the possible consequences of these revelations. Special care was taken that the official declaration that the German government had to make on these matters neither admitted nor revealed too much.[101] According to Major Tschunke, the incident struck "a heavy blow" at Germany's military activities in Russia, necessitating a number of important changes.[102] From the evidence we now have, Tschunke's statement seems somewhat exaggerated; most of the changes that took place in Russo-German military dealings actually seem to have been contemplated before the revelations occurred.

On November 19, 1926, Brockdorff-Rantzau had a most enlightening discussion with Reichswehrminister Gessler about the problem of Russo-German military relations.[103] Gessler tried to present the whole matter as a purely political affair. Brockdorff-Rantzau pointed out that he had never really been

[97] Memorandum by Stresemann on conversation with Br.-R., Aug. 11, 1926, Stresemann Nachlass, 3100/7137/149293.

[98] Memorandum by Dirksen on talk with Major Fischer, Militärische Angelegenheiten, 2330/4564/163463.

[99] *Ibid.,* 163378 ff., 163401, 163415, 163437; Russland—Sowjetgranaten 1926/27, Geheimakten 1920–36, AA, 3028/6698/106231 ff. Much of the information came from a memorandum that the firm of Junkers had distributed in the summer of 1926 to present its case in a controversy with the Reichswehr. See *Denkschrift zum Fall Reichsfiskus—Junkers,* June 25, 1926, Akten betr. Unternehmungen der Junkerswerke in Russland, Büro von Staatssekretär von Schubert, AA, 2331/4564/163792 ff.

[100] Gatzke, *Stresemann and the Rearmament of Germany,* pp. 73 ff.

[101] *Ibid.,* pp. 85–87; Militärische Angelegenheiten, 2330/4564/163487 ff., 163491 ff., 163499 ff., 163513 ff.

[102] Tschunke Memorandum, p. 49.

[103] Militärische Angelegenheiten, 2330/4564/163383 ff. This is Schubert's account of the meeting as told him by Br.-R.

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thoroughly informed about the Reichswehr's dealings. Gessler then tried to make out as though nothing could really be proved against Germany, but Brockdorff reminded him of Hasse's letter to Rozengolts. Gessler thereupon proposed simply to disavow Hasse, if anything leaked out. "In the past," he added, "we were unable to produce grenades in Germany and hence depended on production in Russia. But now we can make grenades in Germany and therefore we shall terminate things in Russia." But Brockdorff-Rantzau was still worried. "I myself," he said, "am in danger. If something leaks out, I shall either look like an ass or a scoundrel (*als Esel oder als Schweinehund*)." So what was there to do? Gessler wanted not to break with the Russians but merely to put matters on a basis "which does not compromise us." Rantzau: "But how shall the matter be continued? My idea is as follows: We will try to put matters more and more on an economic basis, i.e., we promise to support certain factories, but on condition that we supply materials which, in an emergency, can be used for war production."[104] Gessler agreed. "The situation," he repeated, "has changed now. On the basis of our new agreements with the entente we can now produce grenades ourselves." "But what shall I tell the Russians?" Brockdorff asked. "Tell them," Gessler said, "that we do not want to break off relations. I don't want to break off things overnight but want to let them slowly peter out (*versanden*)." Rantzau: "I agree from the point of view of German-Russian policy. May I tell Chicherin that we have adopted a wholly new policy?" Gessler: "Yes. I will and can pursue the matter only if in future I remain in closest contact with you and the Foreign Ministry."

Shortly after Brockdorff-Rantzau and Gessler had thus agreed that there should be some changes in Germany's military relations with Russia, the December revelations further confirmed the need for such changes. A Foreign Ministry memorandum of December 24, 1926, stated that these revelations "had not done the harm to Germany's foreign policy in West and East which had at first been feared." But as there might be further Socialist indiscretions, this would be a good time, the memorandum added, "to reduce the mutual military relations to acceptable and useful proportions." To end these relations entirely, the memorandum said, was impossible (since it would have bad political effects), unnecessary (since some military relations were permissible and useful), and impractical (since the military might continue its contacts anyway behind the back of the Foreign Ministry). The memorandum therefore made a number of specific proposals for reducing Germany's

[104] This is almost verbatim what Br.-R. had proposed more than two years earlier.

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military activities in Russia.[105] Most of these proposals were already being carried out. By early 1927, Germany, according to Major Fischer, had almost entirely withdrawn from the Junkers works in Russia; the poison gas works and the import of Russian grenades had been discontinued; the flying- and tank-schools had been transformed into private enterprises; and the *Wiko* had been stricken from the commercial register and had disappeared.[106]

The exact extent of these changes was further clarified in a meeting between Secretary of State Schubert, Dirksen, General Wetzell, and Major Fischer on January 24, 1927. Schubert insisted on this occasion that he wanted to get a clear picture of the whole matter, since "it was no longer possible for the Foreign Ministry to follow its past practice of wanting to know as little as possible about these things, so as to be able to say that these matters were unknown to the Foreign Ministry." General Wetzell thereupon confirmed again that the Junkers, gas, and ammunition matters were all finished. The only German operations still functioning in the Soviet Union, he said, were the following: (1) the flying-school at Lipetsk, which was a private enterprise supported by German government funds, (2) the tank-school at Kazan, which was similarly organized (there were no active Reichswehr members employed in either, and the trainees were placed on inactive status), (3) some "scientific experiments with poison gas," in which Germany participated merely in an advisory capacity, and finally, (4) the yearly military missions to Russia's maneuvers. German activities under points 1 and 2, Wetzell admitted, were doubtless contrary to the peace treaty, but those under 3 and 4 he considered legal. It was absolutely necessary, Wetzell added, to gain some experience in aerial and tank warfare, since "these two weapons will play a decisive role in any future war." Schubert, on the other hand, wondered if "these military advantages were so decisive as to make up for the political risks which the continued operation of the tank- and flying-schools involved." But Wetzell assured him that the Russians were sufficiently interested in their collaboration with Germany to keep it secret. "If, on the other hand, Germany should break off her military relations, Russia might approach France or some other power," and Germany would lose all the political and military advantages she had derived from her military collaboration. These activities, Wetzell added, are "vital for our army," and he urgently requested continuing them. Secretary of State von Schubert reserved final judgment until after he had discussed the matter with Stresemann to see "whether the politi-

[105] Aufzeichnung über die deutsch-russischen militärischen Beziehungen, Dec. 24, 1926, probably by Dirksen, Militärische Angelegenheiten, 2330/4564/163465 ff.

[106] Aufzeichnung über eine Unterhaltung mit Major Fischer, Jan. 6, 1927, probably by Dirksen, *ibid.*, 163471 ff.

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cal risk which this involved for our policy in the West, the liberation of the Rhineland, and the restoration of Germany's full sovereignty, could be run."[107]

A few days later, Stresemann, at a meeting with General Heye (who had succeeded Seeckt as *Chef der Heeresleitung* the previous October), agreed to the continued operation of Kazan and Lipetsk, yet specified that no officers on active service should be sent to these schools during 1927.[108] At the same time, news from Moscow indicated that the Russians as well as Brockdorff-Rantzau were in favor of continuing the existing collaboration.[109] On February 26, 1927, a special cabinet meeting was called to discuss the Russo-German military question and to endorse the Stresemann-Heye agreement.[110] In May, a further meeting of Stresemann, Gessler, Heye, and Blomberg once again confirmed the policy that henceforth was to govern the Reichswehr's relations with Russia.[111]

The changes that were thus introduced into the Reichswehr's Russian operations after the various revelations of December, 1926, were primarily tactical. According to Gustav Hilger, who was present in Moscow during all these years, Germany's military collaboration with Russia was actually intensified after 1926. "The Foreign Ministry," he writes, "capitulated to the generals with the greatest of pleasure. All concerned, from Stresemann on down, were resolved not only to continue as before with military co-operation, but to intensify it, though with the greatest caution."[112] This statement is perhaps a little too strong, since the Foreign Ministry continued to express its concern over possible further revelations of the Reichswehr's Russian ventures. Yet at the same time, the collaboration in these ventures not only of the Foreign Ministry but of other government agencies as well was now more active than ever before. The Finance Ministry took a hand in facilitating the transport of war materials to Russia.[113] Stresemann even agreed to Germany's continued participation in experiments with poison gas.[114] The *Zentrale Moskau* (renamed *Heim Deutscher Angestellter Moskau* and since early 1928 under the direction of Niedermayer) continued its activities in

[107] Aufzeichnung über den gegenwärtigen Stand der deutsch-russischen militärischen Beziehungen, probably by Dirksen, *ibid.*, 163480 ff.

[108] Vermerk, Feb. 9, 1927, probably by Dirksen, *ibid.*, 163486, 163494 ff.

[109] *Ibid.*

[110] *Ibid.*, 163529–530.

[111] *Ibid.*, 2331/4564/163880 ff.

[112] Hilger and Meyer, pp. 206–207.

[113] Niederschrift über die Besprechung im Reichsfinanzministerium am 4. V. 1928, Russische Militärangelegenheiten, 3668/9481/276292.

[114] Discussion between Stresemann, von Schubert, Groener, and Blomberg, Feb. 6, 1928, Militärische Angelegenheiten, 2331/4564/163921, 163924 ff.

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close collaboration with the embassy.[115] The Foreign Ministry was kept informed on the number of Reichswehr members assigned each year to duty in Russia,[116] and other officers, in addition to those stationed in the Soviet Union, continued to go on temporary missions.[117]

One of the most important of these missions occurred in the fall of 1928, when General von Blomberg, Chief of the *Truppenamt,* together with several other officers, observed the maneuvers of the Red Army. The visit, carefully conducted so that the officers avoided meeting the military attachés of other powers, was a great success. "Commissar of War Voroshilov," Blomberg reported, "had given orders to show us everything and to fulfill all our wishes. . . . The reception of the German officers everywhere was friendly, often cordial, and very hospitable." Blomberg visited the three German establishments, Lipetsk, Kazan, and Saratov (or "Tomka," the experimental station for poison gas "in operation since the beginning of this summer"), and found all of them in the best condition. According to Blomberg, these operations were expected to reach their "full capacity" by 1929. "The great value [of these institutions] for our military preparations (*Rüstung*) is beyond a doubt. . . . [Russian] interest in them is considerable, even though the advantages from these installations predominantly favor the German side." Blomberg had long discussions with the Red Army's top leaders. Voroshilov immediately turned to the question of Poland and asked "if in case of a Polish attack the Red Army could count on Germany's help." This, Voroshilov said, "was a decisive question for the Soviet Union," and he added "that in case of a Polish attack upon Germany, Russia was ready to give any possible aid." Blomberg evaded a definite answer, saying that this was, after all, "a matter of high policy for which the political authorities were alone responsible."[118]

With Reichswehr and Foreign Ministry thus collaborating more closely than ever before, Brockdorff-Rantzau felt somewhat left out of the picture, a fact about which he complained in a letter to Stresemann in April, 1928. It had been himself, after all, he wrote, who had played a leading role in these matters for the past five years and who had always considered Russo-German military relations "one of the most important bonds of our common policy." "If now, without my knowledge, an agreement is being concluded between your Excellency and the Reichswehrminister, according to which the secret

[115] Russische Militärangelegenheiten, 3668/9481/276183 ff., 276265.

[116] *Ibid.,* 3668/9481/276275, 276283 ff. About forty-three Reichswehr members were sent each year to Lipetsk, and the total number sent to Russia in 1929 consisted of twenty-three active and sixty-three inactive officers. Militärische Angelegenheiten, 2331/4564/163924 ff.; 163947 ff.

[117] Russische Militärangelegenheiten, 3668/9481/276305 ff.

[118] Reise des Chefs des Truppenamts nach Russland (Aug.-Sept., 1928), signed by Blomberg, *ibid.,* 3668/9480/276183 ff., 276249 ff.

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agreements between Germany and Soviet Russia are not only to be continued but expanded, I consider this a danger which, in my opinion, can not be overrated."[119] At the time Brockdorff wrote this, Russo-German relations were at a particularly low ebb, due to a number of incidents, especially the famous "Shakhty trial" of German engineers.[120] Stresemann admitted that "after the unheard-of attitude of the Russians he would now be much cooler toward the Reichswehr Ministry" than he had been a little earlier. He also claimed that the Reichswehr as well as his own subordinates in the Foreign Ministry had told him that Germany's new military policy in Russia amounted to a decrease rather than an increase in military relations. At the same time he felt "that an immediate cessation [of these relations] was out of the question for political reasons."[121]

Brockdorff-Rantzau was quite right when he called the bond between the Reichswehr and Red Army one of the most important and steadying factors in Russo-German relations. Despite the relatively few individuals initiated into its secrets, changes in personnel do not seem to have had any decisive effect upon a policy that was so advantageous to both partners. In Russia, after Trotsky's fall, Voroshilov and Unshlikht carried on, as did Litvinov when Chicherin resigned in 1930. On the German side, Heye took over from Seeckt in 1926, Groener from Gessler in 1928, Dirksen from Brockdorff-Rantzau after the latter's death in 1928, and Curtius from Stresemann, who died in the fall of 1929. This does not mean that some individuals were not more deeply involved in these relations than others. Seeckt certainly was the most instrumental, and the fact that the role of the Foreign Ministry in these military dealings became more pronounced after 1926 was no doubt due to his dismissal. Curtius, as we shall see, was less involved than Stresemann, and Dirksen probably more so than Brockdorff-Rantzau. But the important point is that the Reichswehr's operations in Russia continued, regardless of who was in charge of German military or foreign policy.

The last chapter in Russo-German military relations on which the German Foreign Ministry documents shed any light began in the fall of 1928. It concerned the resumption of military-industrial collaboration, which had been deemphasized since 1926. The initiative in this case came from German business interests, but both Reichswehr and Foreign Ministry were sufficiently involved to give the negotiations at least a semiofficial character. In October, 1928, the firm of Krupp was approached by Soviet representatives with a

[119] Br.-R. to Stresemann, Apr. 12, 1928, Brockdorff-Rantzau Nachlass, 3432/9101/226870.
[120] Gatzke, "Von Rapallo nach Berlin," p. 26.
[121] Hencke to Br.-R., Apr. 28, 1928, reporting on a talk with Stresemann, Brockdorff-Rantzau Nachlass, 3429/9101/223630 ff.

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request for aid in the production of high-grade steel and artillery. Before taking any action, Krupp asked the Reichswehr Ministry which, after consultation with the Foreign Ministry, told Krupp to go ahead. Negotiations took place in April, 1929, and resulted in a preliminary agreement needing only final confirmation by Krupp to become binding. Krupp made it perfectly clear that nothing would be done without the Reichswehr's approval, especially as the agreement provided for Krupp to share a number of its production secrets with the Soviet Union.[122] Most of the agreement (except for the clauses providing Russia with steel) fell through when it was found to be in violation of the *Kriegsgerätegesetz* (the law regulating German arms production).[123] There is no record of what either the Foreign Ministry or the Reichswehr thought about the matter. Dirksen, who was now ambassador in Moscow, felt that this was "a case of useful collaboration," which he was inclined to favor, provided Germany's interests were sufficiently safeguarded.[124] A few months later, Dirksen reported that the Russians were trying to build up a war industry of their own, under the direction of "Herr Ulrich," that is, General Uborevich, as chief of ordnance. To achieve their purpose, they needed foreign aid, and this they hoped to get from Germany. The question of whether Germany should provide such aid, Dirksen said, was "of great political significance." It would certainly be a mistake, he warned, to consider the whole matter as merely an economic venture of concern only to German business. The Russians would always look upon it as a political matter, and it was "closely connected with our other operations here in the past. If we refuse to collaborate, our operations here will decline."[125]

To help in building up their war industry, the Russians had secured the services of a German consultant, "Herr Ludwig," better known as General Ludwig, former *Chef des Waffenamtes* of the Reichswehr. In January, 1930, Ludwig told *Ministerialdirektor* Trautmann of the Foreign Ministry about the scope of Russia's military plans, which covered the production of everything from antiaircraft guns to poison gas. There would be no military disadvantages for Germany from aiding the Russians, Ludwig pointed out. "The Russians," he said, "had remained practically on the level of 1914 in their military preparations" and had to start from scratch.[126] Ludwig's statements were supported by Major Behschnitt of the Reichswehr Ministry, who stressed that here was a welcome opportunity for Germany's armament in-

[122] Unsigned memorandum, May 1, 1929, Militärische Angelegenheiten, 2331/4564/163956 ff.
[123] *Ibid.*, 164006 ff.
[124] Dirksen to Trautmann, May 7, 1929, *ibid.*, 163960.
[125] Dirksen to Schubert, Dec. 19, 1929, *ibid.*, 163978 ff.
[126] Memorandum by Trautmann, Jan. 3, 1930, *ibid.*, 163984.

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dustry to gain both money and experience. There was no danger that Germany might be compromised, since the Reichswehr was not in any way involved. If Germany did not help Russia, Behschnitt argued, some other power would.[127]

As these statements by Ludwig and Behschnitt show, the military were heartily in favor of aiding Russia in her contemplated armaments program. The Foreign Ministry, however, was less enthusiastic. Secretary of State Schubert was away at The Hague, and both Köpke (his deputy) and Trautmann (head of the *Ostabteilung*) reported to him. Trautmann was highly skeptical and advised against any attempt to take political advantage of Russia's request.[128] Köpke was somewhat more optimistic and had "no special reservations" about the matter, though he "did not feel too comfortable about it."[129] Schubert agreed with Trautmann and asked that a final decision be postponed until after his return from Holland.[130]

In the meantime, when Krupp had failed to ratify its agreement with the Russians, the latter had turned to another of the big German steel companies, Rheinmetall, as a possible sponsor of the new Soviet armaments program. The director of Rheinmetall, Eltze, in late January, 1930, reported to the Foreign Ministry on the plans he had discussed with Soviet authorities. They were quite similar to those of Krupp. There was to be a "construction bureau" staffed by German engineers to plan the production of military equipment to be produced, with the aid of Rheinmetall and other German firms, mostly in neutral countries. Director Eltze was quite emphatic in his desire to do nothing that would run counter to the wishes of the Foreign Ministry and create political complications for Germany.[131] According to Trautmann, there might easily develop such complications; the activities proposed by Rheinmetall might become known outside Germany, and Germany might also put herself more and more in Russian hands and lose any freedom of action to follow a different course. Trautmann agreed that there were military advantages to the plan, "but the question is whether these advantages are worth the risk and whether it would not be better for us to remain quiet for several more years in the military field, since we shall have no opportunity of using these experiences in the foreseeable future. On the other hand it cannot be denied that the military advantages are predominantly on Russia's side. We will build for the Russians, i.e., the Bolsheviks, an armament industry at a time when they are trying to bring about

[127] *Ibid.*, 163988–89.
[128] Trautmann to Schubert, Jan. 6, 1930, *ibid.*, 163990 ff.
[129] Köpke to Schubert, Jan. 6, 1930, *ibid.*, 163996 ff.
[130] Schubert to Trautmann, Jan. 9, 1930, *ibid.*, 163994.
[131] Report by Moltke, Jan. 29, 1930, *ibid.*, 164003 ff.

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a revolution with us." Trautmann, therefore, advised against Eltze's project of setting up a German "construction bureau" for Russia. As for supplying Russia with war materials from German establishments in neutral countries, he foresaw no complications.[132]

By early February, 1930, Rheinmetall and the Soviet Union had reached a tentative agreement. Under its terms, the German firm promised to place at Russia's disposal six "constructions" (mostly artillery), of which four were already in use by the Reichswehr. These were to be produced in Russian factories with the aid of a German "construction bureau" and with German material assistance. The net profit from these operations was estimated at four million marks.[133] The question was: What position should the Foreign Ministry take? At a meeting of Schubert and his advisers, it was decided to ask Rheinmetall not to conclude the agreement. If this could not be done without causing serious political damage, then Eltze was to make it clear that he was acting entirely at his own risk without consent of the Foreign Ministry. "The idea of combining a political deal with this matter," Schubert wired Dirksen, "has been turned down because of a standing cabinet order against any further expansion of this kind of industrial activity in Russia."[134]

No sooner had this decision been communicated to Moscow than the Reichswehr, which prior to this time had not shown much interest in discussing the matter,[135] called the Foreign Ministry and asked that no negative decision be made without consulting the Reichswehr Ministry. On February 10, General Hammerstein, Heye's successor as chief of the army command, called on Schubert and explained that initially the Reichswehr had hoped to keep the whole matter on a purely business basis. The Russians, however, had made a political issue out of it, threatening that if the agreement failed, "the friendship between the Russian and German army could not be maintained . . . that the whole German-Russian relationship depended upon the conclusion of this agreement." Schubert, on the other hand, was afraid that some day Russia's guns might go off against Germany, either as a result of a direct Soviet attack or in the course of world revolution. Hammerstein considered a revolution unlikely as long as the Russians were "satiated," and he felt that the kind of project proposed by Rheinmetall would help to satiate them. As for a Russian attack, "that after all would be primarily against Poland, which would only be agreeable to us." Besides, Hammerstein said, Russia's military preparations had a decidedly defensive character. He

[132] Votum by Trautmann, Jan. 31, 1930, *ibid.*, 164009 ff.
[133] Memorandum by Moltke on talk with Eltze, Feb. 7, 1930, *ibid.*, 164011 ff.
[134] Schubert to Dirksen, Feb. 8, 1930, *ibid.*, 164016.
[135] *Ibid.*, 164018.

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warned against antagonizing Uborevich, who was extremely pro-German, and he begged Schubert to reconsider and perhaps amend his instructions to Moscow.[136]

On the day Schubert had his talk with Hammerstein, two letters from Dirksen, which echoed the Reichswehr's sentiments, arrived in Berlin. In a letter to Moltke, the ambassador warned against interfering in the negotiations between Rheinmetall and the Russians, since this might have "far-reaching consequences politically" and since the whole future of Russo-German military collaboration was at stake.[137] In another letter, this one to Trautmann, Dirksen pursued his favorite plan that Germany should take political advantage of Russia's desire for military aid. How he envisaged this he did not say. Dirksen also pointed out, as Hammerstein had done in his talk with Schubert, that the Russians had offers from other foreign firms which they might accept, if Germany failed to act.[138]

As a result of Hammerstein's urgings, seconded by Dirksen's letters, another telegram was now sent to Moscow, pointing out that a failure of the Rheinmetall negotiations "would have very serious consequences for the mutual relations" between Germany and Russia.[139] It is interesting to note in this connection that the foreign minister himself played no part at all in these negotiations. Shortly after he took office, in November, 1929, Curtius had requested a briefing on the Reichswehr's activities in Russia, about which he remembered "from earlier cabinet meetings."[140] This briefing Schubert, "as the only one informed about these matters," promised to give him. But despite Schubert's repeated urgings, Curtius always evaded such a discussion. Finally, in early February, when the Rheinmetall affair became crucial, Schubert brought the matter up again, but Curtius said he hoped he "need not be bothered" with it. He avoided going into the details of the military dealings with Russia when Schubert approached him after the talk with Hammerstein, and again later when the Rheinmetall agreement had been signed. Curtius merely said "he hoped that in the near future he would find time to receive a briefing."[141] One cannot help feeling that the foreign minister purposely avoided getting involved in a matter that had caused his predecessor so many headaches.

The preliminary agreement between Rheinmetall and the Soviet govern-

[136] Memorandum by Schubert, Feb. 10, 1930, *ibid.*, 164022 ff. Uborevich had spent some time in Germany in 1927 where a conscious effort had been made "to influence him in a pro-German direction." See Russische Militärangelegenheiten, 3668/9481/276403.

[137] Dirksen to Moltke, Feb. 3, 1930, received Feb. 10, *ibid.*, 164019 ff.

[138] Dirksen to Trautmann, Jan. 30, 1930, received Feb. 10, *ibid.*, 164038 ff.

[139] Schubert to Dirksen, Feb. 10, 1930, *ibid.*, 164032 ff.

[140] Curtius to Vortragender Legationsrat von Blücher, Nov. 25, 1929, *ibid.*, 163983.

[141] Memoranda by Schubert, Feb. 10 and 14, 1930, *ibid.*, 164042 ff.

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ment was signed on February 10, 1930.[142] According to Eltze, the final negotiations had been most cordial. General Ludwig had been present and General Uborevich, under the influence of too much vodka, had exclaimed: "Will we not be ready now in two years to carry out the frontier adjustments and to kill the Poles? After all, we must once again partition Poland." The Foreign Ministry warned Eltze that despite the interest it had shown in the matter, it did not officially endorse the agreement, and Eltze confirmed that he had acted entirely on his own.[143] A few days later, Uborevich paid a visit to Germany to inspect some of the materials and weapons that Rheinmetall had promised to deliver. A new chapter in successful Russo-German collaboration seemed to have begun.[144]

But at this point Rheinmetall suddenly began to find fault with the preliminary agreement and refused to ratify it.[145] The firm's representatives and the Russians agreed upon several new drafts, but Rheinmetall's board of directors approved none of them. In a series of urgent telegrams, Dirksen warned against the serious political consequences of continued refusals by Rheinmetall.[146] Uborevich himself, who had just succeeded Unshlikht as assistant commissar of war, stated "with great seriousness and genuine regret that the breakdown of negotiations would be of the most far-reaching and serious consequences for German-Russian economic and political relations."[147] At this point there is a gap in the documentation, but in a letter to Curtius in July, 1930, Dirksen wrote: "Voroshilov expressed his deep satisfaction about the signing of the agreement with Rheinmetall and thanked me for my part in the negotiations. The agreement with Rheinmetall [Voroshilov had added] was only a beginning which would be followed by further large orders in Germany."[148]

This ends the story of Russo-German military collaboration during the 1920's, as revealed in the documents of the German Foreign Ministry.[149] Its significance lies not so much in any revelation of new facts, though there are a few, as in the insight it provides into the relationship both between the Reichswehr and the Red Army and between the Reichswehr and Germany's civil authorities. Looked at purely as a military operation, the partnership between Germany and Russia, despite some statements to the contrary, seems to have been mutually beneficial. Had it not been, there were certainly many

[142] Dirksen to Schubert, Feb. 10, 1930, *ibid.*, 164045.
[143] Eltze's report to Moltke, Feb. 12, 1930, *ibid.*, 164052 ff.
[144] Memorandum by Schubert, Feb. 15, 1930, *ibid.*, 164056.
[145] *Ibid.*, 164046 ff.
[146] *Ibid.*, 164058 ff.
[147] Dirksen to Curtius, *ibid.*, 164062 ff.
[148] Dirksen to Curtius, July 19, 1930, Akten betr. Russland, 1416/2860/561791.
[149] On the period beyond see Speidel, *passim*, and Castellan, pp. 202 ff.

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occasions on which it could have been terminated. But the Reichswehr's military involvement with Russia was not as far-reaching as many people suspected. The twilight of secrecy has a way of magnifying things. Nor was it conducted with the efficiency and singleness of purpose that we have come to expect from the German military. There was an air of uncertainty and improvisation about the Reichswehr's Russian ventures. This, no doubt, was due in part to the secrecy under which it had to operate and to the uneasy feeling that the Russian adventure might some day prove a boomerang rather than a boon to Germany. It was caused, furthermore, by the individual members of the Reichswehr who were entrusted with the conduct of these relations. General von Seeckt, the driving force behind the Reichswehr's Russian projects, was never able to see with his own eyes what his mind had planned. When, after his retirement, he tried to pay a visit to the Soviet Union, he was dissuaded for fear of political repercussions. The actual direction of the Reichswehr's operations in Russia was in the hands of men like Niedermayer or Tschunke, loyal officers who could keep a secret and who, in an emergency, could be disavowed; but they were no match for the Russians with whom they had to negotiate. In the absence of any really outstanding figure among the Reichswehr's representatives in Russia, it developed upon the German ambassador in Moscow to keep an eye on Germany's military as well as political interests. But since the aims of Germany's civilian authorities did not always agree with those of the military, a further element of uncertainty was injected into the Reichswehr's Russian activities.

If there is one thing the German documents show, it is the fact that the whole German government and not merely its military branch was actively involved in the collaboration with Russia. The degree of involvement and the attitude toward it, as we have seen, differed from individual to individual. While some, like Wirth, Maltzan, Curtius, or even Schubert, tried to avoid becoming initiated into the details of such collaboration because they felt it was easier to deny something of which they had little knowledge, others, like Brockdorff-Rantzau or Dirksen, complained of not knowing enough of the details. There is no evidence that any of the civilian authorities were wholeheartedly in favor of the collaboration for military reasons alone. As a matter of fact, the first reaction of Brockdorff-Rantzau, Stresemann, Ebert, and Curtius was to oppose any military dealings with Russia, and we know that Hindenburg, upon becoming president, breathed a sigh of relief when he learned that Germany had no military alliance with Russia. It was only when they became aware of the possible political or economic advantages that could be derived from the Reichswehr's Russian connections that the poli-

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ticians became reconciled to, and in the case of Brockdorff, Dirksen, or even Stresemann, advocates of, such relations. There was never a time at which this positive attitude toward Russo-German military collaboration was not balanced by a whole flock of fears: What would happen, both at home and abroad, if the secret leaked out? What if the guns the Germans helped Russia produce would some day go off against the Reich? What guarantee was there that the Russians would live up to their promises and give Germany her share of war materials if and when she needed them? There is no reason to doubt the sincerity of the recurrent wish of almost every responsible statesman during the Weimar period that Germany's military collaboration with Russia might be discontinued or at least decreased. But the army had made commitments which could not be broken without causing a major political crisis. Nor was there any certainty that the Reichswehr might not continue its collaboration behind the back of its civilian colleagues. And there was the definite certainty that Russia, if shown a cold shoulder by Germany, would try to find what she needed elsewhere, especially in France.

The collaboration of Germany's civilian authorities with the Reichswehr's Russian ventures was thus half-hearted, but it was nevertheless close. In their ultimate aims, both military and civilians saw eye to eye. The hope of one day solving the "Polish problem" animated the men who directed Germany's foreign policy as it drew together the Reichswehr and the Red Army. If the diplomats preferred to solve this problem through "peaceful pressure," this was not because of any aversion on their part toward war but because of their realization that a conflict with Poland meant also war with France and thus certain defeat for Germany. To conclude a military alliance with Russia might have encouraged the latter to move against Poland, thus dragging Germany into a war for which she was not ready. The ideal solution would have been to gain assurance of Russian aid in case Poland, as a result of Germany's pressure, or even without such provocation, should invade Germany. But such a one-sided arrangement, as we have seen, was not to Russia's taste. Brockdorff-Rantzau's standing complaint, that the Reichswehr did not keep him fully informed of its Russian dealings, was certainly justified, but it is doubtful whether with more information and greater latitude he would have gained the political concessions from Russia that he desired. The truth of the matter is that the German military found their Russian experiences most valuable and a reward in themselves, and this the Russians realized.

Historians, like everyone else, tend to oversimplify issues on which they feel strongly. Critics of Germany thus have presented the Reichswehr's Russian activities as evidence of a German conspiracy of revenge against the

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West. Defenders of Germany have tried to explain these activities as understandable military maneuvers of which Germany's political leaders were unaware. The truth lies somewhere in between. Germany's politicians were certainly well informed and often lent aid to the Reichswehr's Russian ventures. Their collaboration did not amount to a conspiracy, not because they had any fundamental aversion to it, but because they knew that a conspiracy presupposes mutual trust between conspirators. Germany's political leaders realized, as their military colleagues did not, that it was impossible to have such trust in a government whose aims threatened the very existence of friend and foe alike.

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# Congressional Debate on Slavery and the Declaration of Independence, 1819-1821

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EVER since the Continental Congress proclaimed the independence of the American colonies to "a candid world," the Declaration of Independence has formed part of the political thought and feeling of the American people. Unchanged in language through the years, the Declaration nevertheless has had a changing meaning for different groups of Americans, and one generation has often viewed it with a different feeling or emphasis from another. By the 1820's, for example, when the Declaration was read at Fourth of July celebrations, Jefferson's charges against an iniquitous George III no longer stirred the same feelings they did in 1776. And the preamble, more enduring than the invective against the British king, has been a wellspring of imposing phrases for a variety of men and women with a mission. The history of the changes in thinking and feeling about the Declaration, and the story of the way in which politicians, reformers, and others have appealed to it in support of a variety of causes, are long ones, touching many of the major issues of American life. As in much historical writing, however, a few key points give form to an otherwise shapeless story.

One such critical point centers in the years of the Missouri controversy, 1819–1821, when Congress, no longer able to avoid the problem, threshed out, for a few years, the future of Negro slavery in America. One of the authorities appealed to in the debates was the Declaration of Independence. For the first time in our history its preamble was examined and analyzed, praised or criticized, in large-scale fashion. Some of the congressmen took as their text the Declaration's statement that "all men are created equal" and endowed with "certain unalienable Rights." One of these rights was that of liberty. How, it was asked, could Negro slavery be reconciled with man's right to "Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness"? Other passages of the Declaration were invoked, and the question of its meaning became part of the controversy.

From the vantage point of the present it is difficult to write about the role of the Declaration in these debates without taking sides. George Dangerfield, for example, in describing the irreverent attitude toward the Declaration shown by Senator Nathaniel Macon of North Carolina, wrote that the Declaration was "a part of the spiritual fabric of the American Republic;



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and it was a melancholy moment when a man as noble as Macon attempted to tear it away."[1] Dangerfield may have described the incident perceptively, but too much of the writing about the Declaration has first erected it on a pedestal. Before placing it there we might observe just what was being said about the Declaration by the politicians in Congress, many of whom felt that the American political tradition, or a section of the Union, or the Union itself, was in jeopardy.

The congressional controversy over Missouri began early in 1819 when Representative James Tallmadge of New York proposed an antislavery amendment to a bill then pending for the admission of Missouri into the Union. "This motion," the House reporter wrote, "gave rise to an interesting and pretty wide debate"—one which lasted until 1821.[2] It was a debate which crowded the galleries and lobbies of Congress with spectators, eager to hear the latest speech on the "Missouri Question."[3] Some congressmen spoke to express strong convictions and others because it appeared to be the right thing for dutiful congressmen to do, and together they filled many pages of the *Annals of Congress*. Sometimes the Missouri question lay dormant for days, but it erupted periodically, giving rise to contrived oratory as well as to everyday speechmaking. On the surface the question was one of slavery in Missouri, but speakers ranged further to examine the whole "peculiar institution"; they condemned or excused it, and a number of them defended it.[4] They appealed to the Bible, to the Constitution, and to the Declaration of Independence. They talked mostly about the Constitution but gave an unusual amount of attention also to the Declaration.[5]

Congressmen who read and quoted the Declaration did so to explain what it said, or should be construed to say, about Negro slavery. Their task was difficult since the Declaration said nothing explicitly about it. The Continental Congress, it is well known, had deleted Jefferson's draft of a charge against King George III for perpetuating the slave trade. So much we know, but little more. Virtually no evidence exists that will permit a categorical statement about the relationship of the preamble of the Declaration to the institution of Negro slavery. "All men," Jefferson had written, "are created equal," and endowed with the rights of "Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness." The historian of today, however, who would contend that the phrase "all

[1] Dangerfield, *The Era of Good Feelings* (New York, 1952), p. 220.
[2] *Annals of Congress*, 15 Cong., 2 sess., p. 1166 (Feb. 13, 1819).
[3] See, for example, Washington *National Intelligencer*, Jan. 15, 1820.
[4] Earlier accounts of the controversy have been superseded in large part by Glover Moore's extended study, *The Missouri Controversy, 1819–1821* (Lexington, Ky., 1953).
[5] The only substantial account of the role of the Declaration in the Missouri debates appears in Professor Moore's study at pp. 307–309. For his other comment on the Declaration see pp. 44, 79, 84, 123, 165, 196, 237, and 256.

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men" was understood by the members of the Continental Congress to include Negro slaves has a fragile foundation on which to build.[6]

The men who debated the Missouri question were handicapped also by a lack of any extensive comment in the years since 1776, in or out of Congress, on the relationship between slavery and the Declaration. Such comment had been relatively isolated, a fact which highlights the importance of the discussion during the Missouri controversy.[7]

Prior to 1819 Congress itself seldom discussed slavery and, on even fewer occasions, its relationship to the Declaration. As early as 1789, however, the question had been raised. That year the House was trying to work out an impost bill and was discussing the propriety of taxes on a great variety of subjects ranging from gunpowder to crockery. In the middle of the discussion a Revolutionary veteran from Virginia, Josiah Parker, proposed a tax on the importation of slaves. Delegates from South Carolina and Georgia rose instantly to protest, and no extended debate took place. But Parker was able to voice his opposition to the slave trade, terming it "contrary to the Revolution principles," and appealing for authority to the Declaration: "The inconsistency in our principles, with which we are justly charged, should be done away, that we may show, by our actions, the pure beneficence of the doctrine we hold out to the world in our Declaration of Independence." Parker did not, however, go on to explain his understanding of the "doctrine."[8]

The next year a Quaker memorial urging the abolition of the slave trade roused "Boisterous Commotions" in the House. The South Carolina and Georgia representatives again exhibited "an unusual degree of warmth" and launched a "severe invective against the Quakers."[9] Speaking in behalf of the memorialists, Elias Boudinot, former president of the Continental Con-

[6] The conclusion is the result of the writer's research. What confronts the researcher is simply the silence of the Declaration on slavery and the absence of any comment by the framers of the Declaration except by way of implication. See John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of American Negroes* (2d ed., New York, 1956), p. 129.

[7] Comment linking the Declaration with slavery, however, began as early as 1776. For illustrative American comment see the following: letter of William Gordon, Sept. 21, 1776, quoted in George H. Moore, *Notes on the History of Slavery in Massachusetts* (New York, 1866), p. 176; Timothy Pickering to Rufus King, Mar. 8, 1785, *The Life and Correspondence of Rufus King . . .*, ed. Charles R. King (6 vols., New York, 1894–1900), I, 45, 284; Providence *Gazette and Country Journal*, Oct. 6, 1787; *The Constitution of the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery and the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully Held in Bondage . . . to Which Are Added the Acts of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery* (Philadelphia, 1788), p. 21; John Parrish, *Remarks on the Slavery of the Black People . . .* (Philadelphia, 1806), p. 8; Herbert Aptheker, ed., *A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States* (New York, 1951), pp. 25, 51, 60.

[8] *Annals of Congress*, 1 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 349–51 (May 13, 1789).

[9] Henry Wynkoop to Reading Beatty, Mar. 18, 1790, "The Letters of Judge Henry Wynkoop, Representative from Pennsylvania to the First Congress of the United States," ed. Joseph M. Beatty, Jr., *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XXXVIII (1914), 192.

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gress, cited two Revolutionary proclamations in support of their cause, the Declaration on Taking Arms of 1775 and the Declaration of Independence.[10] Other early instances of this linking of slavery with the Declaration were equally unelaborate. In 1796 Representative James Hillhouse of Connecticut proclaimed that "he knew of no principle that made a difference between the natural rights of a white or black man. The first principle that is laid down in the rights of man, is, that all men are born free and equal; it does not say all *white* men."[11]

The most searching congressional comment on the Declaration in these early years took place in the House debate in 1806 on a bill to prohibit the importation of slaves. John Smilie, something of a radical in Pennsylvania politics, argued in one of his speeches that the question of the importation of slaves was "connected with principles of a higher order than those merely commercial. I beg leave on this occasion to refer to the principles of 1776." He went on to quote the part of the Declaration that begins "We hold these truths to be self-evident." His colleague from Pennsylvania, Joseph Clay, took issue, asserting that the Declaration had nothing to do with the question. "The Declaration," he said, "is to be taken with a great qualification. It declares those men have an inalienable right to life, yet we hang criminals—to liberty, yet we imprison—to the pursuit of happiness, yet he must not infringe on the rights of others."[12] Clay's argument was a fairly narrow one, yet uncommon in Congress before 1819, and unusual even then for a Pennsylvania congressman.

One other feature of congressional discussion of slavery in the pre-Missouri years requires special mention. Occasionally the principles relied on by antislavery spokesmen were taken from state declarations or bills of rights, rather than from the Declaration of Independence. Some of the congressmen showed greater familiarity with the state declarations. Representative Hillhouse's statement quoted above—"the first principle that is laid down in the rights of man, is, that all men are born free and equal"—used language like that in a state declaration. A clearer illustration was contained in a speech by David L. Morril, a New Hampshire senator and zealous champion of the Negro. In a discussion of the foreign slave trade in January, 1818, Morril said: "In New England we believe 'all men are born equally free and independent'—thus commences our 'Bill of Rights.' Whatever their

[10] *Annals of Congress*, 1 Cong., 2 sess., pp. 1224–25 (Feb. 11, 1790); p. 1520 (Mar. 22, 1790).

[11] *Ibid.*, 4 Cong., 1 sess., p. 1084 (Apr. 19, 1796). Some years later a Pennsylvania representative, David Bard, touched the fringe area of the political philosophy of the Declaration. See *ibid.*, 8 Cong., 1 sess., p. 994 (Feb. 14, 1804).

[12] *Ibid.*, 9 Cong., 2 sess., pp. 225–27 (Dec. 29, 1806).

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color, powers of mind, property, or rank in society, they are freemen—citizens, not slaves."[13] Such appeals to state declarations, however, were made less frequently and brought on less debate than appeals to the Declaration.

Senator Morril, who had served formerly as a Presbyterian minister, felt strongly in 1818 about the wrongs of Negro slavery. "Shall I not desire the termination of slavery? It is a duty, sir, I owe to myself, my country, and my God."[14] His fellow senator, Rufus King, deprecated such discussion "of the justice and policy of permitting the existence of slavery." It was a topic, said King, "that, from obvious considerations, has at all times been alluded to, even in the Senate, with great reserve."[15] He was, of course, correct. Congressmen had said relatively little about slavery, perhaps most of them believing, as a South Carolina representative one time remarked, that such discussions "tended to produce very uncomfortable circumstances."[16] But Senator King was speaking in a year of transition; the next year, 1819, senatorial reserve vanished.

The Missouri controversy began with the introduction of the Tallmadge amendment on February 13, 1819. The question at issue was the admission of a new state, with a restriction proposed to end slavery in that state. Whether such a restriction could be imposed was essentially a constitutional question, but all that the Constitution said explicitly about the admission of new states was that they "may be admitted by the Congress into this Union."[17] It said nothing about attaching restrictive conditions. Slavery itself was referred to in several clauses of the Constitution, but the framers had discreetly avoided use of the word, and those passages in which it appeared covertly did not bear directly on the Missouri question. In part, therefore, the appeal made to the Declaration resulted from the failure to find convincing answers in the Constitution. Men such as Senator Morril, who conceived the termination of slavery a duty owed God and country, looked elsewhere for a compelling sanction. In the preamble of the Declaration they had a broad statement of natural law principles and of the rights of man, unhedged by restrictive qualifications. "All" men had these rights. Jefferson's statement of natural law principles in the Declaration was couched in sweeping language, and Carl Becker's statement about the men of 1776 who formulated the Declaration applies to many of the speakers who appealed to it in the years from 1819 to 1821: "Whenever men become sufficiently dis-

[13] *Ibid.*, 15 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 102–103 (Jan. 12, 1818).
[14] *Ibid.*, p. 103.
[15] *Ibid.*, p. 105.
[16] William L. Smith, *ibid.*, 4 Cong., 2 sess., p. 2023 (Jan. 30, 1797).
[17] United States Constitution, Art. IV, sec. 3.

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satisfied with what is, with the existing regime of positive law and custom, they will be found reaching out beyond it for the rational basis of what they conceive ought to be. This is what the Americans did in their controversy with Great Britain; and this rational basis they found in that underlying preconception which shaped the thought of their age—the idea of natural law and natural rights."[18]

It would be an oversophistication, however, to explain the appeals to the Declaration solely in terms of recourse to natural law. In simpler terms, as one representative described it, in 1819 the Declaration stood as "an authority admitted in all parts of the Union."[19] It was a ready weapon, a convenient and expansive buttress for a point of view.

Just two days after the introduction of the Tallmadge amendment Representative Timothy Fuller of Massachusetts made the first major appeal to the Declaration.[20] His speech, as reported in the *Annals,* is no model of expository prose,[21] but the substance of the argument is clear. Missouri, according to established American principle, must have a "republican" government, and slavery is not compatible with republican principles. Fuller argued that the Declaration of Independence "defines the principle on which our National and State Constitutions are all professedly founded"; it says that all men are created equal, and since slaves are men, he concluded, "they are in a purely republican government born free, and are entitled to liberty and the pursuit of happiness." Southern delegates were quick to point out that such reasoning denied a republican character to *any* of the slave states. Fuller replied that the states holding slaves when the Constitution was framed were permitted "from the necessity of the case, and for the sake of union, to exclude the republican principle," but that the principle must not be violated with regard to new states. If his reasons for an exception were not substantial, the principle, in any event, was clear. As Fuller restated it in constitutional terms, "the attempt to extend slavery to the new States is in direct violation of the clause which guaranties a republican form of government to all the States." His argument was based on the Constitution, with the Declaration furnish-

[18] Becker, *The Declaration of Independence: A Study in the History of Political Ideas* (New York, 1922), p. 134. For other comment on the role of natural law, see Benjamin F. Wright, Jr., *American Interpretations of Natural Law: A Study in the History of Political Thought* (Cambridge, Mass., 1931), pp. 330, 341.

[19] *Annals of Congress,* 15 Cong., 2 sess., p. 1181 (Feb. 15, 1819).

[20] The opening reported speech on the Tallmadge amendment, made by John W. Taylor of New York, had included a brief reference to the language of the Declaration, although Taylor's stated reference was to "our bill of rights." *Ibid.,* p. 1173.

[21] Whether the speaker or the reporter was at fault is not clear. The reporters were not always as competent or as conscientious as could be wished. See Moore, *Missouri Controversy,* p. 41. It is obvious from a reading of the reported debates that a number of speeches, even those of men like Henry Clay and John Randolph, were not reported.

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ing "a definition of the basis of republican government."[22] Fuller, in other words, was using the Declaration as an interpretative guide to the Constitution.

No other extended discussion of the Declaration took place in the Fifteenth Congress, which adjourned, with the Missouri question far from solution, in March, 1819. Before adjournment, however, Tallmadge himself had made a kind of rhetorical plea based on the Declaration, warning his colleagues that "the eyes of Europe" were turned on them. "You boast of the freedom of your Constitution and your laws; you have proclaimed, in the Declaration of Independence, 'That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that amongst these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;' and yet you have slaves in your country." If Congress allowed slavery to pass into the territories, where they had "the lawful power to exclude it," they must stand ashamed before the world.[23]

The Sixteenth Congress convened in December, 1819, and soon resumed the controversy, more intensely than before. A number of memorials received by Congress showed that private citizens as well as congressmen were reflecting on the relationship of the Declaration to slavery. One of these memorials, originating at Hartford on December 3, argued that the language of the Declaration showed that its authors did not contemplate the extension of slavery in the United States. As Fuller had done in Congress, the memorialists made an exception in favor of the older states, averring that the Declaration's principles had been "waived" by the framers of the Constitution with regard to those states in which slavery at that time existed. "But this was done in the spirit of compromise; and the original principle which was avowed in the Declaration of Independence revives, in all its primitive force, with reference to any new States which may be admitted into the Union."[24]

The major discussion of the Declaration in the whole Missouri controversy ensued in the months of January and February, 1820. In both Senate and House it became common for antislavery spokesmen to quote the Declaration's assertion that "all men are created equal" as a reason against the extension of slavery to Missouri.[25] More newsworthy, however, was the manner in which the proslavery group began to formulate a critical attitude toward the Declaration. Senator Macon, for example, warned his colleagues against

[22] *Annals of Congress,* 15 Cong., 2 sess., pp. 1180–82 (Feb. 15, 1819). A brief summary of Fuller's comments is contained in Moore, *Missouri Controversy,* pp. 44–45.

[23] *Annals of Congress,* 15 Cong., 2 sess., p. 1211 (Feb. 16, 1819).

[24] *Ibid.,* 16 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 2457, 2459–60, Appendix. See also resolutions of a December 14 meeting at Portsmouth, N. H., reported in Washington *National Intelligencer,* Jan. 8, 1820; and Moore, *Missouri Controversy,* p. 79.

[25] See, for example, *Annals of Congress,* 16 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 120, 128, 137 (Jan. 17, 1820); p. 279 (Jan. 27, 1820); and p. 1300 (Feb. 14, 1820).

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broad arguments from the Declaration, maintaining that if the equality clause of the preamble were interpreted as antislavery spokesmen desired, universal emancipation would result. "If it will justify putting an end to slavery in Missouri, will it not justify it in the old States?" Macon spoke, too, on the intricate question of the relationship of the Declaration to the Constitution, a point of constitutional law which was at the heart of many of the arguments, but one which congressmen seldom handled forthrightly. Senator Macon maintained that the Declaration simply was not part of the Constitution, that the question was constitutional and did not involve the Declaration.[26]

The appearance of this critical attitude of Southerners toward the Declaration forms part of a larger pattern of Southern response to the increasing antislavery sentiment of these years. Other evidences of this pattern in the congressional debates were the changing ideas about slavery and about Jefferson. Some speakers, most explicitly Senator William Smith of South Carolina, attempted to justify slavery. Relating the American institution to a broad view of world history, Senator Smith cited the practices of the Hebrews, the Greeks, and the Romans. "Slavery has prevailed in every country on the globe," he said, "ever since the flood."[27] An Ohio senator expressed astonishment: "This was taking entirely new ground; it was going farther than he had ever heard any gentleman go before. Heretofore, in discussion upon this subject, slavery had not been considered as a matter of right, but as an evil."[28]

Some Southerners were also showing disenchantment with Jefferson. His *Notes on Virginia* had been quoted by Senator Morril—for example, the passage in which Jefferson wrote: "There must be an unhappy influence on the manners of our people, produced by the existence of slavery among us."[29] In reply some days later Senator Smith protested that despite the high regard he had for Jefferson, he would not hesitate to contradict "that venerable patriot." The *Notes* were written to gratify a foreigner; they were "the effu-

[26] *Ibid.*, pp. 225, 227 (Jan. 20, 1820). In the very beginning of the debates, it will be recalled, Representative Fuller had urged the Declaration as an interpretative guide to the Constitution. A somewhat similar attitude was later expressed by Representative Charles Rich of Vermont, who advocated use of the Declaration "to ascertain the amount of the attributes of sovereignty, individual rights, and the duties of governments." *Ibid.*, p. 1397 (Feb. 17, 1820). Nowhere in the debates was there an adequate discussion of the constitutional status of the Declaration. One of the more reasoned comments was made by Representative McLane of Delaware: If the "abstract principles" of the Declaration, he said, "could possibly be supposed to have any reference to the condition of the black population in the United States, yet, as it preceded the adoption of the Constitution, their practical effect must depend altogether upon the positive provisions of that charter." *Ibid.*, p. 1154 (Feb. 7, 1820).

[27] *Ibid.*, pp. 266–70 (Jan. 26, 1820). See also the defense of slavery by Representative Charles Pinckney of South Carolina, *ibid.*, pp. 1323–24 (Feb. 14, 1820).

[28] Benjamin Ruggles, *ibid.*, p. 279 (Jan. 27, 1820).

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 150 (Jan. 17, 1820).

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sions of the speculative philosophy of his young and ardent mind, and which his riper years have corrected."[30]

It was Jefferson's Declaration, however, rather than his *Notes,* which was more disturbing to Southern congressmen. Perhaps the most expressive criticism of the Declaration was contained in a speech delivered in January by the outstanding lawyer of the day, Senator William Pinkney of Maryland.[31] Although the speech, like a number of others, was not reported in the *Annals,* Senator Pinkney on a later occasion summarized his opinion: "The self-evident truths announced in the Declaration of Independence are not truths at all, if taken literally."[32] A more detailed expression of his views may be found in remarks by his critics. Senator Morril said of him: "We next find the honorable gentleman at war with the Declaration of Independence. This, he undertakes to show, is absurd and untrue." Morril protested that "no unhallowed hand" should tarnish the purity of the Declaration. But "what does the gentleman say? 'That all men are created equal' is absurd, because one is born poor, another to inherit a fortune—one a peasant, another a prince—one a slave, another a freeman." Senator Morril contended that the equality referred to in the Declaration did not consist of fortune or rank but of inalienable rights. "But the gentleman contends, we have no inalienable rights, for we may barter or transfer them at our pleasure."[33] Senator Pinkney's remarks were also paraphrased by Senator Jonathan Roberts of Pennsylvania. As Roberts put it, Pinkney had maintained "that the self-evident truths set forth in the Declaration of Independence, are not, as we understand them, the foundation of all our principles of law, but merely abstract aphorisms."[34] Through the remainder of the debates this argument that the "truths" were not truths remained a principal point of contention.

[30] *Ibid.,* pp. 268–69 (Jan. 26, 1820). See also Moore, *Missouri Controversy,* p. 256, on Southern repudiation of Jefferson; W. G. Bean, "Anti-Jeffersonianism in the Ante-Bellum South," *North Carolina Historical Review,* XII (Apr., 1935), 123–24; and William S. Jenkins, *Pro-Slavery Thought in the Old South* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1935), pp. 61–63. Jefferson himself expressed grave fears for the country's future because of the Missouri controversy. See his letter of April 22, 1820, to John Holmes, in *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson . . .,* ed. Andrew A. Lipscomb and Albert E. Bergh (20 vols., Washington, D. C., 1903–1904), XV, 249. He did not comment, however, on the references made to the Declaration in the debates. He wrote in 1820: "I read but one newspaper and that of my own state, and more for its advertisements than its news. I have not read a speech in Congress for some years." Jefferson to Charles Pinckney, Sept. 30, 1820, *ibid.,* p. 279.

[31] Senator Pinkney was an able and colorful orator. "With the exception of Rufus King, there is not in either House of Congress a member from the free States able to cope in powers of the mind with William Pinkney or James Barbour." John Quincy Adams' comment of Jan. 15, 1820, in *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, Comprising Portions of His Diary from 1795 to 1848,* ed. Charles F. Adams (12 vols., Philadelphia, 1874–77), IV, 506.

[32] *Annals of Congress,* 16 Cong., 1 sess., p. 405 (Feb. 15, 1820). See also William Pinkney, *Life of William Pinkney, by His Nephew* (New York, 1853), p. 318.

[33] *Annals of Congress,* 16 Cong., 1 sess., p. 296 (Jan. 27, 1820).

[34] *Ibid.,* p. 341 (Feb. 1, 1820).

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In the last days of January and in early February congressmen repeatedly put the Declaration in issue. On January 27 Tallmadge's colleague, John W. Taylor, quoted the "first truth declared by this nation, at the era of its independence," demanding whether the work to which the signers pledged their lives and fortunes had become "a solemn mockery."[35] The debate by this time, however, was turning into more complex channels of thought about the Declaration, several steps beyond the simplicity of Taylor's comment. Someone—the *Annals* does not make the source clear—was charged by proslavery spokesmen with saying that the Declaration itself had actually emancipated the slaves. The subject was introduced—and the idea rebutted—by John Holmes. Holmes came from Massachusetts but was deemed an apostate by the antislavery group.[36] Speaking after Taylor, Holmes said: "We have been made to understand, from very respectable authority, that the Declaration of Independence proclaimed freedom to every slave in the United States!" He spoke of "this strange and ridiculous vision, that the Declaration of Independence was a decree of universal emancipation." Although Taylor rose to deny that he had said it,[37] Southerners persisted in ridiculing the idea, since it was a theory which jeopardized slavery not only in Missouri but in the South as a whole. Two weeks later, after Senator Rufus King maintained in a highly publicized speech that laws establishing slavery were in fact void, as contrary to natural law, Southerners had further confirmation of their assertion that the whole institution of slavery was threatened.

Less distinguished men than Senator King, meanwhile, carried on the controversy. The ridicule directed by Representative Holmes toward the idea that the Declaration was a decree of "universal emancipation" was heard also in the Senate. Nicholas Van Dyke of Delaware, one of those who sought to limit the authority of the Declaration, demanded: "Think you, sir, that it was meant to invoke the genius of universal emancipation, and to proclaim liberty and equality to every human being who breathed the air, and trod the soil of this new Republic?" How strange and unbelievable it was that "the recital of abstract theoretical principles, in a national manifesto in 1776, would be gravely urged at this day, to prove that involuntary servitude does not lawfully exist within the United States!" Van Dyke criticized, too, the idea that the Declaration could be resorted to as a key to the construction of the

[35] *Ibid.*, pp. 957–58 (Jan. 27, 1820). Taylor praised Jefferson's sentiments as expressed in the *Notes on Virginia:* "While books are read, or truth revered, his sentiments on this subject will insure to their author unfading honor."

[36] On Holmes, see letter of Rufus King to Christopher Gore, Jan. 30, 1820, *Life and Correspondence of Rufus King,* VI, 263. Holmes's record on the Missouri question was to bring criticism even in later years. See *Niles' Weekly Register,* XXXI (Sept. 9, 1826), 23.

[37] *Annals of Congress,* 16 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 968–69, 974 (Jan. 27, 1820).

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Constitution.[38] Here, of course, he was opposing the argument of Representative Fuller, who a year earlier had asserted that the Declaration "defines the principle on which our National and State Constitutions are all professedly founded."

About this same time, the proslavery reading of the Declaration yielded fresh interpretations. Alexander Smyth of Virginia, speaking in the House, followed other Southerners in concluding that the Congress of 1776 "had no power to emancipate a single slave." More significantly he helped formulate a proslavery argument that was paradoxically *based* on the Declaration—a development not so well known among historians as is proslavery criticism of the Declaration. Stating that the Continental Congress had asserted "that men, on entering into society, cannot alienate their right to liberty and property, and that they cannot, by compact, bind their posterity," Smyth went on to conclude that "the people of Missouri cannot alienate their rights, or bind their posterity by a compact with Congress."[39] He was arguing, in short, that the restriction on the admission of Missouri proposed by the antislavery forces would deprive the (white) people of Missouri of their inalienable rights.

Representative Smyth's formulation of a proslavery appeal to the principles of the Declaration was not as clear, however, as some later expressions of the same idea. One of these is of special interest since it was made by John Tyler, a Virginia congressman in 1820 but later the tenth President of the United States. Tyler's attitude toward the Declaration, like that of some other Southerners, was to praise it for some purposes but not for others. "Gentlemen have exultingly read to us the Declaration of Independence," he said, but the statement that all men, by nature, are "equally free, sovereign, and independent" was simply an expression of abstract truth. "The principle, although lovely and beautiful, cannot obliterate those distinctions in society which society itself engenders and gives birth to. Liberty and equality are captivating sounds; but they often captivate to destroy." But Tyler, like Smyth, would apply the Declaration to the people of Missouri who wished to have their institutions free from congressional control:

> Although I do not believe that this principle of equality can be applied to man *in extenso,* yet I love it, and admire it as an abstract truth, and will carry it into operation whensoever I can; and, sir, I call on gentlemen to lend me their aid in the present instance. If we cannot raise the black man up to the level with the white—and that we have not the constitutional power to do so none here have denied—let us raise, at least, the white man up to this level. Extend an equality

[38] *Ibid.,* p. 301 (Jan. 28, 1820).
[39] *Ibid.,* p. 1005.

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of rights to the people of Missouri. Place them upon a footing with the people of New York, Connecticut, and of the other States. What are the rights of the people of Connecticut and the other States? They have the right to alter, to amend, to abolish their constitutions.[40]

Other Southern congressmen made similar appeals to the Declaration. A few days after Smyth had spoken in the House, Senator Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky—later a vice-president of the United States—denied that the Declaration had the force which the Missouri restrictionists claimed for it but at the same time praised the language of the Declaration as "the foundation of all civil rights, and the palladium of our liberties." For Senator Johnson the Declaration was a palladium of liberties for Missouri whites. Pointing out that Americans, according to the Declaration, had "the right to organize such government for themselves as they shall choose, whenever it is their pleasure to dissolve the bonds which unite them to another people," he concluded: "The same principle applied to Missouri will defeat the object of gentlemen who advocate this restriction." Senator Johnson, like most other speakers, was advocating *one* way of reading the Declaration; to him it meant that "all communities stand upon an equality."[41] He adamantly opposed the view that the Declaration required an equality "in relation to every human being." That kind of equality, he said, was fulfilled in none of the states. In political life, for example, qualifications for the franchise and for officeholding prevailed generally in the Union. With regard to racial equality, it was evident to him that the North did not honor its professions: "If your humanity has conquered your prejudice, till you know no color, where are your magistrates, your governors, your representatives, of the black population? You proclaim them equal, but you are still their lawgivers."[42]

The proslavery argument grounded on the Declaration was presented in the House, perhaps more explicitly than had been done before, by Louis McLane of Delaware. As Senator Johnson had done, McLane first affirmed his faith in the Declaration: "I do not deny that the principles of the Declaration of Independence are those of the Constitution; on the contrary, I admit that they are those upon which all our institutions repose." In saying this, however, McLane rejected the idea that the "abstract principles" of the Declaration had any reference to the status of Negro slaves: "The Revolution found them in a state of servitude, the acknowledgment of our actual inde-

[40] *Ibid.*, pp. 1383–84 (Feb. 17, 1820).
[41] *Ibid.*, p. 350 (Feb. 1, 1820).
[42] *Ibid.*, pp. 350, 357. Representative Louis McLane of Delaware expressed similar thoughts in the House: "Where is the State in the Union in which the emancipated negro has been admitted to the enjoyment of equal rights with the white population? I know of none." *Ibid.*, p. 1155 (Feb. 7, 1820).

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pendence left them so, and the Constitution of the United States perpetuated their condition." McLane instead would apply the Declaration for the benefit of the people of Missouri and relate it to the rights of Missourians, not to Negroes. It was, he said, in pursuance of the principles of the Declaration that "the people of Missouri claim the right to make their own constitution, and resist the imposition of any species of government deriving its powers from any other source."[43]

As these views illustrate, the proslavery argument in the Missouri debates was sometimes difficult to unravel, since a number of Southerners denied the Declaration's "principles," others affirmed them, and some denied some principles and affirmed others. Senator James Barbour of Virginia was one of those who showed a wholly critical attitude. Exasperated by the manner in which the antislavery group had invoked the Declaration, he demanded: "What has that to do with this question? Who were the parties—the slaves? No. . . . Did it enter into any human mind that it had the least reference to this species of population?" He ridiculed those who appealed to the principle that all men are created equal, are endowed with an inalienable right to liberty, and that therefore there should be no slavery in Missouri although the institution in the older states of the South was not to be disturbed. "What, this eternal, and, as they say, immutable principle, consecrated by this famous instrument, and in support of which we have appealed to God, is to have no obligatory force on the very parties who made it, but attaches instantly you cross the Mississippi! What kind of ethics is this," demanded Senator Barbour, "that is bounded by latitude and longitude, which is inoperative on the left, but is omnipotent on the right bank of a river?"[44]

If the speeches in the Missouri debates were sometimes short in consistency or clarity, they were rarely short in length. In addition, many congressmen had the feeling that they must say something, and they frequently had to compete for the privilege. Representative William Plumer, Jr., wrote that "so eager has been the competition to obtain the floor, that a modest man would hardly dare to rise among such a mob."[45] The less modest, however, rose

[43] *Ibid.*, pp. 1154–55 (Feb. 7, 1820). The Southern effort to invoke the Declaration in behalf of the proslavery interests in Missouri was made so strongly that one Northern spokesman later had to redirect the Declaration toward the use to which it was first put in the debates, against slavery in Missouri. Representative Henry W. Edwards of Connecticut observed that the Declaration had been appealed to in support of the proslavery claim of self-government for the people of Missouri. "If a resort is to be had to Revolutionary principles," said Edwards, "pray, gentlemen, take the whole of these principles; do not select that part which happens to comport with your views, and reject the remainder; extend to all the enjoyment of those, the inalienable rights, 'life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.'" *Ibid.*, p. 1446 (Feb. 21, 1820).

[44] *Ibid.*, pp. 325–26 (Feb. 1, 1820).

[45] William Plumer, Jr., to William Plumer, Sr., Feb. 5, 1820, *The Missouri Compromises and Presidential Politics, 1820–1825, from the Letters of William Plumer, Junior, Representative from New Hampshire*, ed. Everett S. Brown (St. Louis, Mo., 1926), p. 7.

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bravely and delivered speeches in which new arguments were mingled with the old. Ben Hardin, for example, representing Kentucky, reexpressed the proslavery criticism of the idea that the Declaration had emancipated the slaves. This idea, he said, was "certainly a very late discovery, and the people of the North, heretofore so fruitful in inventions, as the Patent Office can well testify, may rightly claim to be the authors of it." He added something new, however, with his general appraisal of the Declaration. "What are the efficient parts of the Declaration of Independence? The answer is, those parts only which declare our dependence upon Great Britain to be at an end, and assume a stand and character of a sovereign people among the nations of the earth. The balance of the declaration is nothing but a manifesto to the world, assigning and setting forth the causes which led to and brought about that mighty event."[46] Hardin's appraisal was exceptional in having more of a historical and less of a dialectical quality than was customary in the speeches. Certainly his concluding words sounded much like John Adams' description written in July, 1776: "a Declaration setting forth the causes which have impelled us to this mighty revolution, and the reasons which will justify it in the sight of God and man."[47] For the most part, however, the congressmen of 1819–1821 pursued political reasoning more earnestly than research.

By the end of the first week in February the whole subject matter of the controversy had been worked over to such an extent that many speeches received no more than passing notice. One which did, however, was delivered on February 11 by Rufus King, elder statesman and senator from New York. When John Quincy Adams attended a party "at Mr. Calhoun's" that night, he "heard of nothing but the Missouri question and Mr. King's speeches."[48] Senator King's speech was not reported in the *Annals,* but the most critical section of it is available from different sources. King himself explained that what he had done was to refer "the decision of the Restriction on Missouri to the broad principles of the law of Nature." This part of his speech attracted the most attention. "I have yet to learn," Senator King said, "that one man can make a slave of another; if one man cannot do so, no number of individuals can have any better right to do it." Southern senators grew tense as he continued: "I hold that all laws and compacts imposing any such condition upon any human being are absolutely void, because contrary to the law of

[46] *Annals of Congress,* 16 Cong., 1 sess., p. 1071 (Feb. 4, 1820). Hardin summarized his viewpoint succinctly: "The Declaration of Independence cuts no figure in this question." *Ibid.,* p. 1074. See also Lucius P. Little, *Ben Hardin: His Times and Contemporaries* (Louisville, Ky., 1887), p. 79.

[47] John Adams to Abigail Adams, July 3, 1776, *The Works of John Adams . . . ,* ed. Charles F. Adams (10 vols., Boston, 1850–56), IX, 418.

[48] *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams,* IV, 524.

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nature, which is the law of God, by which he makes his way known to men, and is paramount to all human control."[49] Language of this kind, particularly from as influential a politician as Senator King, alarmed Southerners. Senator Smith of South Carolina termed the speech "pregnant with mischief" and conjured up visions of the dissolution of government and convulsive commotions, like those of the French Revolution, to which such doctrine must lead.[50] Closer to home was the fear that the views of Senator King, despite his earlier protestations to the contrary, threatened the existence of slavery not only in new states but in the older states of the South as well.

Although the reports we have of the speech refer the appeal broadly to the "law of Nature" without specific reference to the Declaration—the classic expression of natural law theory in American political thought—it is likely that King had the Declaration in mind. In his own summary of his comments he wrote that according to the law of nature "all men are born free, and justly entitled to the possession of life and liberty and to the free pursuit of happiness"—an accurate paraphrase of the language of the Declaration.[51] His speech is also of significance, in a broader sense, as an early example of the antislavery appeal to higher law, a type of argument made more often in the later years of the slavery controversy.

The law of nature to which Senator King appealed was invoked a few days later in the House, but tied in more precisely with the Declaration of Independence. Charles Rich of Vermont, pointing out that the word "slave" was not used in the Constitution, said that the framers had purposely avoided the use of any expression that might be construed to legitimatize slavery. "Consequently," said Representative Rich, "the legality of it must be determined by a reference to the laws of nature and natural rights, and not to the Constitution." Ranging further than King had done, Rich looked for guidance to the Declaration. He saw in it not only a statement of the laws of nature but also a link with Divine Power. Emphasizing the manner in which the framers of the Declaration had appealed "to the Supreme Judge of the World for the rectitude of their intentions," he concluded, in Old Testament fashion, that the appeal was heard and that the Judge "condescended to become a

[49] Rufus King to Christopher Gore, Feb. 17, 1820, *Life and Correspondence of Rufus King*, VI, 276, 276 fn. See also *Annals of Congress*, 16 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 380–81 (Feb. 14, 1820). For an example of the influence of King out of Congress, see John M. Lofton, Jr., "Denmark Vesey's Call to Arms," *Journal of Negro History*, XXXIII (Oct., 1948), 405. King's reasoning would apply to slavery in the older states as well as in new states, although he was particular in pointing out that "these principles . . . ought not to be intended or applied to slavery in the old States." King to Christopher Gore, Feb. 17, 1820, *Life and Correspondence of Rufus King*, VI, 277. See also his letter to Richard Peters, Jr., Nov. 30, 1819, *ibid.*, p. 236.

[50] *Annals of Congress*, 16 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 374, 381 (Feb. 14, 1820).

[51] Rufus King to Christopher Gore, Feb. 17, 1820, *Life and Correspondence of Rufus King*, VI, 277.

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party to that great *national covenant.*" To endorse or to extend slavery was to break the covenant. In the present political crisis, Rich asked, did "it become us to disregard our own stipulations; and have we a right to expect that the favor of the Being to whom, in our infancy, the solemn appeal was made, will be longer continued to us, when we shall have falsified the declaration by a national act, deliberately pronouncing that all men are not 'created equal,' and that, as a matter of convenience, one may rightfully hold another, and his posterity, in perpetual bondage?"[52] With this interpretation Representative Rich brought the antislavery argument based on the Declaration to its furthest limits.

Some two weeks later the House finished its consideration of the Missouri bill, and Senate action was completed the next day. One frustrated member of the House was gratified: "Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to obtain the floor, a favor I have sought six weeks; but heretofore without success."[53] On March 6, 1820, the act was approved authorizing "the people of Missouri Territory to form a constitution and State government, and for the admission of such State into the Union on an equal footing with the original States, and to prohibit slavery in certain territories."[54] The long debate had ended in a compromise settlement, admitting the free state of Maine, authorizing a state government in Missouri without slavery restriction, but otherwise prohibiting slavery in the Louisiana territory north of latitude 36° 30′.

Although the Missouri controversy was to be reopened in the second session of the Sixteenth Congress in the late months of 1820 and controversy over the Missouri constitution was to extend into February, 1821, discussion of the relation of the Declaration to slavery was resumed only in desultory fashion. It had become, as one proslavery spokesman expressed it, "the stale argument derived from the abstract doctrines announced in the Declaration of Independence."[55] Most of the arguments about slavery, in fact, had grown stale. A Northern congressman observed that "the patience of the House, and I fear the patience of the people we represent, is much fatigued, if not exhausted, by the numerous editions of the same arguments which have been

[52] *Annals of Congress,* 16 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 1396–97 (Feb. 17, 1820). Some days later Representative Francis Jones of Tennessee criticized those who talked "about the law of God and the law of Nature," saying that "their speeches would much better suit a convention about to form a Constitution than they do a Congress convened under a Constitution which they have sworn to support. To say that slavery is an evil, that it is contrary to the laws of nature and of nature's God, does not prove that the Constitution has not recognised its existence; neither does it prove that the power to remedy the evil has, by the States, been surrendered to the General Government." *Ibid.,* pp. 1458–59 (Feb. 23, 1820).

[53] James Stevens of Connecticut, *ibid.,* p. 1583 (Mar. 2, 1820).

[54] *Ibid.,* p. 2555, Appendix.

[55] Representative Louis McLane, *ibid.,* 16 Cong., 2 sess., p. 618 (Dec. 12, 1820).

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delivered upon the subject now under consideration."[56] On February 28, 1821, a second compromise resolution was approved in the Senate, and the Missouri controversy was brought to a close.

The debates had not only exhausted the patience of the congressmen but also squeezed the Declaration of Independence nearly dry. The congressional debaters, like lawyers, had explored all the possibilities of the case. The analogy is not a forced one, for many of the senators and representatives were lawyers. Of some twenty persons quoted in the foregoing pages for their comments about the Declaration during the debates, the only ones without legal training or experience were David L. Morril, Charles Rich, and Jonathan Roberts. This accounts, in part, for the detailed and sometimes legalistic nature of the argument. One listener, unimpressed by Senator Pinkney's popular January speech, considered it the speech "of an able *lawyer,* & I could not help thinking, all the time, that he might, with equal ease, have argued the other side quite as well."[57] Much of the argument from the Declaration was in the nature of special pleading, in which the Declaration became—as has been said of the law of nature—an "engine of dialectic."[58] The dialectical character of the argument was perhaps more apparent in the proslavery speeches; antislavery spokesmen were more likely to resort to emotional appeals. Each side professed the true understanding of the meaning of the Declaration. Each could claim the truth, since no encyclical existed to show just what the Declaration did mean. Both sides were applying it to an issue unlike that which its framers faced in 1776 when they began a revolution.

A summary of the comment about the Declaration in the Missouri debates may show more clearly the way in which the Declaration was being viewed almost half a century after its promulgation. First, in very general terms, it was not until the Missouri controversy that the linking of the Declaration and the institution of Negro slavery took place in other than a sporadic fashion. This accounts for the fact that so few of the speakers of 1820 were able to cite any authority for their interpretations.

In the debates themselves, the antislavery group made the initial appeal to the Declaration. Never agreed on its precise application, antislavery spokesmen looked to it not only as a symbol of a tradition which would make whites and blacks "equal" but more especially as an interpretative guide to the Constitution, "the foundation of all our principles of law." Senator

[56] Josiah Butler of New Hampshire, *ibid.,* p. 986 (Jan. 30, 1821).

[57] William Plumer, Jr., to William Plumer, Sr., Jan. 30, 1820, *Missouri Compromises and Presidential Politics,* p. 4.

[58] Frederick Pollock, "The History of the Law of Nature: A Preliminary Study," *Columbia Law Review,* I (1901), 22.

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King's comments are of particular importance, for in appealing to a law of nature he was foreshadowing appeals to the Declaration that extremists were to make in later years. Representative Rich, going further than any of his antislavery colleagues, transcended secular bounds in his contemplation of the Declaration as a covenant with God.

The variety evident in the antislavery appeal to the Declaration was even more apparent in the proslavery appeal. Slower starting, it boasted more color and novelty. The greater number of proslavery congressmen criticized or qualified the principles of the Declaration; the most common statement was that it expressed merely "abstract" truths. Considerable energy was devoted to denying that it had any reference to slavery, or, as Senator Barbour expressed it, that it could have emancipated slaves on one side of a river and not on the other. A lesser number of proslavery congressmen, making a more original contribution, looked at a different part of the Declaration from that quoted by their Northern brethren and emphasized instead the idea of popular sovereignty, of government by "the consent of the governed." They used this concept as a basis for the argument that the people of Missouri should have the unrestricted right to a government of their own choosing. Ambivalence thus weakened the proslavery argument.

In retrospect, perhaps the greatest significance of this controversy lies in the fact that the political principles of the Declaration were being critically examined and, by some persons, fitted to the requirements of a policy or belief. Such fitting or tailoring has been one of the features of the history of the Declaration since 1776. Its brief statement of political philosophy has furnished a text for both sides in a number of controversies. At a later day, for example, both Lincoln and Jefferson Davis could find support in its language for quite opposite points of view.

The controversy is of importance, also, as a stage in the evolution of proslavery thought. Just as some Southerners were showing disaffection for Jefferson, so, too, they were demonstrating an iconoclastic attitude toward the Declaration.[59] It is this attitude, cultivated in the course of the Missouri debates, which laid the groundwork for some of the agitated slavery writing and oratory of the 1830's and 1840's. Or, without going quite so far in time, it makes understandable and familiar the comments of John Randolph in 1826, when he spoke in Congress about slavery in Latin America. The principles that were being invoked on that occasion, he said, were "the principles that were of high authority on another great question—the Missouri question

[59] For comment on the Southern attitude to the time of the Missouri controversy, see Jenkins, *Pro-Slavery Thought in the Old South*, p. 59.

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. . . the principles of the declaration of independence." Senator Randolph objected to invoking these principles when "pushed to their extreme consequences—that all men are born free and equal." He could not assent to this, "for the best of all reasons, because it is not true." The Declaration, said Randolph, was a "fanfaronade of abstractions."[60]

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[60] *Register of Debates,* 19 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 125, 127 (Mar. 2, 1826).

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# "Holy Russia": A Study in the History of an Idea

MICHAEL CHERNIAVSKY

"NOT with the mind can Russia be understood. . . . One can only believe in Russia," wrote Tiutchev. The poet tried to answer one of the vital questions his contemporaries were asking: What is Russia? Tiutchev's solution, certainly, did not satisfy everybody; the question was asked, time and again, and is still being asked, and there has been no dearth of answers. Yet the poet saw the true nature of the question and so offered faith rather than reason, for what was sought was not the reality but the myth. Those who would accept his solution, however, still had to decide which of a number of possible Russias, which answer to the original question, they would believe in. It is with one possible answer that I intend to deal in this study, one component of the Russian idea, expressed in the commonplace, "Holy Russia." That this strange epithet is a common symbol for Russia would be difficult to deny. But if the use of commonplaces is a problem for the social psychologist, the history of a symbol and its content, many stranded though it may be, is the province of the historian.

The article by Alexander V. Soloviev, "Holy Russia (Study of the Development of a Social-Religious Idea),"[1] published in 1927, drew my attention to this history. Soloviev was the first, to my knowledge, to attempt a historical survey of the epithet. In a later study, published in 1954,[2] the Russian scholar explores the question of the possible derivation of "Holy Russia" from early medieval concepts. Soloviev is quite correct when he points out the significance of the epithet. "Holy," after all, evokes the image of the Holy Land, the land where Christ lived and on which He set His foot; Palestine is holy as a sum total of all the holy places within it.[3] Russia is the only other land

[1] Soloviev, "Sviataia Rus' (ocherk razvitiia religiozno-obshchestvennoi idei)," *Sbornik Russkago Arkheologicheskago Obshchestva v Korolevstve S.Kh.S.* (Belgrade), I (1927), 77–113 (hereafter cited as Soloviev).

[2] Soloviev, "Helles Russland—Heiliges Russland," *Festschrift für Dmytro Čyževskii zum 60. Geburtstag*, Veröffentlichungen der Abteilung für slavische Sprachen und Literatur des Osteuropa-Instituts (Slavisches Seminar) an der Freien Universität Berlin, VI (Berlin, 1954), pp. 282–89 (hereafter cited as *Festschrift*).

[3] The tradition of *Terra Sancta* derives from the Old Testament; cf. Zach. 2:12; Sap. 12:3; II Macc. 1:7; in the Greek of the Septuagint it appears as ἡγηήάγια. In Christian times, however, the epithet *Terra Sancta* appears first during the Crusades; see Carl Erdmann, *Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens* (Stuttgart, 1935), pp. 279 f. The epithet and the idea behind it existed, of course, though in a different form, in classical antiquity; for ἱεραι 'Αθῆναι see, for example, Fustel de Coulanges, *The Ancient City*, trans. Willard Small (4th ed., New York, 1882), p. 187 and *passim*.



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that has received this epithet with any consistency,[4] and it is certainly curious, as Soloviev points out, that the problem had not been studied earlier.[5] The intent of his study, however, is revealed by the question he asks after pointing out the uniqueness of the epithet: "Is it deserved?" He then gives a brief survey of Russian history in order to judge whether the Russian claim to holiness is justified.[6] He sees Russian thought through the ages as peculiarly God-centered, but the historical problem is limited by the fact that Soloviev finds the earliest dated use of the epithet in the writings of Prince Andrew Kurbskii in the seventies of the sixteenth century. He then argues that Kurbskii undoubtedly did not create the term but found it in common usage, so that one may expect to find earlier documentary proof.[7] In his later article Soloviev concludes that Kurbskii is the earliest dated source we possess. He does, however, suggest sources that show earlier use of the epithet, namely, Russian folk songs written down in the eighteenth century and later but going back in oral tradition, according to Soloviev, to the fourteenth century.[8]

Searching for the origin of "holy," Soloviev finds it, both ideologically and etymologically in the epithet "bright," "enlightened," "illumined."[9] Correctly, I believe, Soloviev interprets *svetlaia* or *svetlorusskaia* in the earliest sources, such as the *Slovo o polku Igoreve,* to mean "illumined by the faith."[10] The final stage in the development of this concept was expressed in the sun imagery employed by the writers of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth

[4] The *Sacrum Imperium Romanum* was a legally derived term and in the Middle Ages was used in apposition to the *Sancta Ecclesia.* The whole problem of national epithets is a complicated one and deserving of study; implications of sanctity or holiness do appear occasionally in the national states of Western Europe. For the literature on the "holy realm of France" and its connection with the *Terra Sancta* of the Crusades see Ernst H. Kantorowicz, "*Pro Patria Mori* in Medieval Political Thought," *American Historical Review,* LVI (1951), 479–84. The same connotation is carried by the "Blessed Lady Spain"; see Gaines Post, "Blessed Lady Spain—Vincentius Hispanus and Spanish National Imperialism in the 13th Century," *Speculum,* XXIX (1954), 198–210. The closest parallel with "Holy Russia" is "Virginal" or "Holy Ireland"; see, for example, the poem by Giolla Modubhda, ca. 1200, in the *Todd Lecture Series* (Dublin, 1892), pp. 408–37; see also the eighteenth-century poem *The Fair Hills of Holy Ireland,* translated by Sir Samuel Ferguson in *An Anthology of Irish Verse,* ed. Padraic Calum (New York, 1948), p. 182. For all of the material on Ireland I am indebted to Professor John Kelleher of Harvard University.

[5] Soloviev, p. 77, fn. 1. As far as I have been able to determine Soloviev is right when he claims that no study prior to his own had appeared on this subject. The traditional acceptance of the epithet was apparently so deep that it occurred to no one to examine it. The example of this kind of acceptance which I have before me, a social and political study of modern Russia by Georges Friedmann, *Dalla Santa Russia All'U.R.S.S.* (Rome, 1949), is one of many.

[6] Because of this outlook, Soloviev, while investigating the problem of the history of "Holy Russia," becomes part of that history himself.

[7] Soloviev, p. 91, fn. 2.

[8] *Festschrift,* pp. 283–85.

[9] *Sveto-russkaia, svetlo-russkaia zemlia, Festschrift,* pp. 282 f.

[10] See *Festschrift,* p. 282, for references to *Slovo o pogibeli russkoi zemli* and to *Slovo o polku Igoreve.*

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centuries when referring to the orthodox grand prince of Moscow.[11] Soloviev's contention that in the fourteenth century the folk songs used the epithet "holy" as well as "illumined" cannot, however, be substantiated. In any case, the ideological derivation of "Holy Russia" from "Illumined Russia" is not at issue here. Certainly both epithets reflect Russia's place within the divine plan and insofar are related.

For my purposes, in dealing with "Holy Russia" it is pertinent to start out by asking different questions from Soloviev's: When could the epithet be used first? What conditions were necessary for men to think of Russia in these terms? What could the epithet signify? The meaning of the term must be sought in the analogy with the Holy Land; Palestine was holy because Christ had lived there, because it was the physical setting for the possibility of man's salvation. Thus Russia could be holy, even in Christian times, if it had a unique and exalted role in the economy of salvation, if in it, and in it alone, Christ still walked, in spirit if not in person. Such times came in the middle of the fifteenth century, for after the Council of Florence and the attempt at the Union of Churches in 1441 Moscovite Russia saw herself as the only orthodox land in the world, that is to say, as the only source of salvation for mankind.[12] It is this concept that is expressed, with all its implications, in the famous letter of the monk Philotheos to Grand Prince Basil III, early in the sixteenth century:

> [I write] to you, the Most bright and most highly-throning Sovereign, Grand Prince, orthodox Christian tsar and lord of all, rein-holder of the Holy oecumenical and Apostolic Church of God of the Most Holy Virgin . . . which is shining gloriously instead of the Roman or Constantinopolitan [one]. For the Old Rome fell because of its church's lack of faith, the Apollinarian heresy; and of the second Rome, the city of Constantine, the pagans broke down the doors of the churches with their axes. . . . And now there is the Holy synodal Apostolic church of the reigning third Rome, of your tsardom, which shines like the sun in its orthodox Christian faith throughout the whole universe. And that is your realm, pious tsar, as all the empires [tsardoms] of the orthodox Christian faith have gathered into your single empire . . . you are the only tsar for Christians in the whole world. . . .
>
> Do not break, O tsar, the commandments laid by your ancestors, the Great Constantine and the blessed Vladimir, and the God-chosen Iaroslav, and the other blessed saints, of which root you are. . . .
>
> Listen and attend, pious tsar, that all Christian empires are gathered in your single one, that two Romes have fallen, and the third one stands, and a fourth one there shall not be; your empire will not fall to others, according to the great Evangelist.[13]

[11] *Festschrift*, p. 285; see also Vasilii Malinin, *Starets Eleazarova monastyria Filofei i ego poslaniia* (Kiev, 1901), Appendix, p. 50.

[12] See my study, "The Reception of the Council of Florence in Moscow," *Church History*, XXIV (1955), 347–59; see also Ihor Ševčenko, "Intellectual Repercussions of the Council of Florence," *ibid.*, 291–324.

[13] Malinin, Appendix, pp. 51–56.

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Salvation thus coincided with a political boundary; it could only be attained in Russia. The future of the whole world depended upon the faith of the new Russian tsardom.

For a century after this, Russian writers developed the theme in all its variations, which can be subsumed under a different slogan—Moscow, the Third Rome.[14] The focus, however, for all these ideas was the ruler of Moscow, the "Grand Prince of Moscow and All Russia," who, to fulfill his new role, became in 1547 the tsar, the "Orthodox and Universal Emperor." It is not my purpose here to analyze the new Moscovite ideology, but Russian history of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is striking in the exclusive focus on the prince. One might say that there was in the Russia of that time a myth of the ruler but not of the land, of the country and people as a whole.[15]

If we accept, then, the possibility, or rather the applicability, of the epithet "Holy Russia" from the middle of the fifteenth century on, the question of its first appearance becomes highly interesting. For over a century after it became possible, the epithet was never used in any of the numerous and extremist writings dedicated to the exaltation and virtual deification of the Russian ruler. It first appears in the writings of Prince Kurbskii, famous for his friendship with his tsar, Ivan the Terrible, and for his betrayal of Ivan and flight to Lithuania. There he wrote his letters to Ivan and his *History of the Prince of Moscow*.[16] In his answer to Ivan's second epistle, Kurbskii accuses the tsar of having "dishonored yourself and all the holyrussian lands."[17] Eight more times in his *History* the prince uses the epithet, five times in the form of "holyrussian lands,"[18] once as "holyrussian tsardom,"[19] and twice as "holyrussian empire."[20] This is the only known use of the epithet in the sixteenth century. Soloviev refers to its use in the letter of Philotheos to Grand Prince Basil III but does not place much credence in it,

[14] The literature on this subject is quite extensive; among the better works are Vladimir Val'denberg, *Drevnerusskiia ucheniia o predielakh tsarskoi vlasti* (Petrograd, 1916); I. Budovnits, *Russkaia publitsistika XVI veka* (Ak. N. SSSR, 1947); and Hildegard Schaeder, *Moskau das Dritte Rom* (Hamburg, 1929); see also the brilliant and provocative study by Ševčenko, "A Neglected Byzantine Source of Muscovite Political Ideology," *Harvard Slavic Studies* (Cambridge, Mass., 1954), II, 141–80.

[15] If anything, the myth of the ruler is created at the expense of the myth of the "land." The twelfth-century *Slovo o polku Igoreve* speaks of the *zemlia russkaia*, the Russian land, the common fatherland; in the fourteenth century, particularly after the battle of Kulikovo in 1380, it is the prince and only the prince who symbolizes the state and the country.

[16] In *Russkaia Istoricheskaia Biblioteka* (St. Petersburg, 1914), XXXI (hereafter cited as *R.I.B.*).

[17] "Na preskvernoe i vechnoe tvoe postydienie i vsea sviatorusskie zemli," *R.I.B.*, p. 134.

[18] *Sviatorusskie zemli.*

[19] *Sviatorusskoe tsarstvo.*

[20] *Imperiia sviatorusskaia.* This formula probably reflects Kurbskii's Polish and general Western associations. *Imperiia* would normally refer to the Western, Habsburg empire; the Roman-Byzantine empire was called *tsarstvo.* As one can see, in all usages by Kurbskii, *sviataia* and *russkaia* are combined into one word, that is, used as an epithet.

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for the term "All Holy and Great Russia" is found only in a redaction of the seventeenth century.[21]

The problem then remains: Assuming even that the epithet was in common usage, reflected in the folk songs and epics, why was there only one reflection of it in the political literature of the sixteenth century? Kurbskii, after all, belonged ideologically to a group of boyar opposition to autocracy that dated from the beginning of the sixteenth century, from the circle around Maxim the Greek.[22]

The answer may be found, at least partially, in the use Kurbskii made of the epithet. In each case it is used in a sentence describing the evil deeds of the autocratic tsar: "Oh, Satan! . . . why have you planted such a godless seed in the heart of a Christian tsar, from which such a fire swept over all the Holyrussian land that no words are needed to witness it from me? . . . Oh evil ones, filled with various vices and slyness, destroyers of your fatherland, or better said of the whole Holyrussian tsardom! . . .[23] Such evil, vicious . . . ones that they have torn the belly of their mother, that is of the Holyrussian lands, who has born them and raised them. . . ." Warning Ivan, rhetorically, of the example of Herod, Kurbskii tells the tsar that "your majesty's abundance of evil will devastate not only friends but all the Holyrussian lands," and he writes of Theodore Basmanov, the tsar's "beloved" and "the destroyer . . . of the Holyrussian lands." Ivan killed a great noble whose father, Stepan, "served many years, until he was eighty, served well and honestly the Holyrussian empire."[24] Again, the tsar killed "Nikita, surnamed Kazarinov, with his only son Theodore who was in the bloom of his youth, who [that is, Nikita] had served many years and faithfully the Holyrussian empire."[25] In fact, the tsar had ordered his murderers to wipe out men who were dying in the defense of "Holyrussian" lands against the pagans.[26]

In every case the epithet is used to create an antithesis to the tsar, the antithesis of a "Holy Russia." Ivan's actions, dreadful as they were, became the more horrible when directed against his country, which is not just his property but is the Holy Land. Perhaps Prince Kurbskii began to construct that myth of the nation that he found necessary to oppose the myth of the ruler. The "Holy Russian" lands, the tsardom or empire, existed apart from the exalted and newly created tsar. Certainly, in this sense, the epithet would

[21] *Festschrift*, p. 285, fn. 7; "Khristianskomu tsariu i vladeltse vsekh, brazdoderzhateliu zhe vseia sviatyia i velikiia rosiia," Malinin, Appendix, p. 50.

[22] On this, and also for bibliography, see Budovnits, esp. chaps. III–V.

[23] This was addressed to the tsar's councilors.

[24] *R.I.B.*, pp. 216, 262, 266, 271, 305.

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 307. In another variant, the word "region" (*oblast'*) is written in on the margin.

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 306. The pagans in this case are the Tatars.

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express a political theory consistent with the views of Kurbskii and his ideological predecessors: Russia was a land, exalted by its orthodoxy and purity, entrusted to a princely clan which in common held Russia and in common ruled over it.[27] Thus, for Kurbskii, Ivan became a monster of iniquity after having rejected his councilors and boyars and acted autocratically, having imagined himself to be "immortal and divine."[28]

Nevertheless, Kurbskii's uniqueness remains a problem. Certainly the argument from silence is a dangerous one, but the epithet appears to have passed unnoticed.[29] Though it was used in a letter to Ivan, the tsar did not pick it up; it did not appear in the political writings at his court. Yet one must agree with A. V. Soloviev that it is most unlikely that Kurbskii invented the term; more probably the rebellious prince used an epithet in common usage. So much more striking, then, is the silence of official tsarist ideology. It seems to confirm my suggestion that from the very beginning the epithet "Holy Russia" is an antitsarist, antistate slogan.

One more consideration remains as far as Kurbskii is concerned. His letters are dated quite precisely, but the earliest manuscript of his writings that has survived is from the early seventeenth century.[30] There appears to be, therefore, no conclusive evidence for the use of the epithet during the sixteenth century. This is not to say that one must reject the sixteenth-century origin of "Holy Russia," but Kurbskii's uniqueness may have the very simple explanation that "Holy Russia" is a seventeenth-century interpolation. The likelihood that a seventeenth-century scribe casually added "Holy Russia," or substituted it for the original name or epithet, must be judged by the history of the symbol in the seventeenth century. What may be called the period of silence extends from the middle of the fifteenth century all through the sixteenth, that is, through the period of the evolution and culmination of Byzantine imperial ideology, of the deification of the state, first in the person of the grand prince and then of the tsar.

The history of the title "Holy Russia" in the seventeenth century is a very different one. It begins early in the century, when on June 14, 1619, the Metro-

[27] See Vasilii O. Kliuchevskii, *Boiarskaia Duma drevnei Rusi* (4th ed., Moscow, 1909).

[28] *R.I.B.*, pp. 1–2, 281.

[29] See, for example, the main "royalist" writers: the monk Filofei (Philotheos), in Malinin, Appendix; Abbot Iosif Sanin of Volokolamsk, *Prosvetitel'*, in *Pravoslavnyi Sobesednik* (Kazan', 1856, 1857), and also in *Chteniia v Imp. Obshch. istorii i drev. rossiiskikh* for 1847; Archbishop Vassian of Rostov in *Polnoe Sobranie Russkikh Letopisei*, VI. See also, for example, *Zhitie i khozhdenie Daniila russkia zemli igumena*, ed. Mikhail A. Venevitinov, in *Pravoslavnyi Palestinskii Sbornik* (St. Petersburg, 1883–85), nos. 3 and 9; the earliest MS is from 1475. In this travelogue and pilgrimage Palestine is frequently referred to as the Holy Land, but the epithet is never applied to the "russian land" for which the abbot prays on his pilgrimage.

[30] *R.I.B.*, pp. v–vii; *Poslaniia Ivana Groznogo*, ed. Varvara P. Adrianova-Perets (Moscow, Leningrad, 1951), pp. 529 f.

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politan Filaret Romanov, father of the newly elected tsar, Michael Romanov, returned to Moscow from his long years of captivity in Poland. The joy experienced by the young tsar and the country was expressed in a song beginning:

> The Moscovite Tsardom rejoiced
> And all the Holyrussian land.[31]

The song then describes the reception of Filaret and his companions by Tsar Michael and the mass that was celebrated, ending with the metropolitan's blessing of his imperial son:

> God grant health to the Orthodox Tsar
> Grand Prince Mikhail Fedorovich—
> May he hold the Moscovite tsardom
> And all the Holyrussian land.

This is the first really dated use of the epithet, for, within two months of its creation, the song was recorded by the Englishman, Richard James, chaplain to the embassy sent out in 1618 by James I.[32] The exact date, of course, is not the issue. What is significant is that the epithet appears to have been in common usage, that it was used in a popular song, and that it emerged in a period of new developments in Russian ideology. The new tsar and the new dynasty symbolized a new national consciousness. Michael was elected by an Assembly of the Land (*Zemskii Sobor*) after years of civil war and foreign invasions, the Time of Troubles. The threat to national existence and to orthodoxy (for this was how the Russians saw Polish intervention) came at a time, however, when the traditional central authority was virtually absent.[33] Salvation came from the Russian people—towns, monasteries, and lower gentry; there was a conception of a popular, national will expressed in the great assembly. It is against this background that the use of the epithet in a song should be considered.

In the song, the predication "Holy Russia," while not antithetical, is nevertheless separated from the state, from the Moscovite tsardom. The epithet symbolizes a new and a different dimension in the concept of Russia. Despite the historical origin of this dimension in the fifteenth century, in contrast with the historical Moscovite tsardom it symbolizes the nonhistorical,

[31] Pavel K. Simoni, "Velikorusskie pesni zapisannye v 1619–20 gg. dlia Richarda Dzheimsa," *Sbornik Otdeleniia Russkago Iazyka i Slovesnosti*, Akademiia Nauk, LXXXII (1907), 7.
Zradovolosia Tsarstvo Moskovskoe
i vsia zemlia Sviato-russkaia.

[32] Carl Stief, *Studies in the Russian Historical Song* (Copenhagen, 1953), pp. 13 f., 54.

[33] See Sergei F. Platonov, *Smutnoe vremia; ocherki po istorii smuty v Mosk. Gosudarstve* XVI–XVII *vv.* (St. Petersburg, 1899).

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transcendental Russia.[34] The identifying feature of this other Russia is the orthodox Russian people.

No one in the seventeenth century seems to have analyzed the epithet, nor even to have been conscious of its use and implications, but the available evidence supports this interpretation. This evidence consists of epics of the Don Cossacks, dating from the middle of the seventeenth century.[35] In the so-called *"Poetical" Tale of the Siege of Azov,*[36] the Cossacks are called upon to surrender by a Turkish general of the besieging army: "You have injured . . . the Turkish Lord and tsar. Truthfully are you still called in Russia the holyrussian heroes; how can you now, you thieves, flee from his dread hand?" When the situation of the beleaguered Cossacks becomes desperate, they appeal prayerfully to their patron, John the Baptist: "We shall never be in Holy Russia again! Our sinful death comes in the deserts for your miracle-working icons, for the Christian faith, for the tsar's name and for all the Moscovite state."[37] In the *Lament of the Captives* of the Zaporozh'e Cossacks, the enslaved Cossacks sing: "Deliver, God, the poor captive/ To the holy-russian bank/ To the happy land/ Among Christian folk."[38]

The use of the epithet in the Azov tale suggests that "Holy Russia" embraced all the values for which the Cossacks died: the holy icons, the faith, the tsar, and the state. This becomes clear when one recalls the unique position of the "Great Don Army" (*Velikoe Voisko Donskoe*), as the Cossack association called itself. In effect, it was an independent political entity, dealing as a sovereign power with the Turks, Tatars, Poland, and Moscow; and yet, as individuals, as orthodox Russians, the members recognized the sovereignty of the tsar. That is to say, as Orthodox, the Cossacks *were* Russians, even though by origin many of them were Tatars, Poles, or Lithuanians, and as Orthodox Russians they could only acknowledge one ruler—the Orthodox tsar. Nevertheless, the Moscovite tsardom began across the frontier, and the Don Cossacks were always anxious to preserve the right to enter Russia. What is interesting, however, is that Moscow also saw its boundaries as those of the "political" Moscovite state and ordered the Cossacks not to allow freemen to enter "Russia and the upper [river] towns."[39]

[34] In the same way, the grand prince of Moscow was also the grand prince of all Russia, *vseia Rusi*.

[35] *Festschrift*, p. 286; *Voinskie povesti drevnei Rusi*, ed. Adrianova-Perets (Moscow, 1949).

[36] *"Skazochnaia" povest' o vziatii Azova*, in *Voinskie povesti drevnei Rusi*, pp. 265 f.

[37] *Ibid.*, pp. 62–63, 76.

[38] V. Antonovich and M. Dragomanov, *Istoricheskie pesni malorusskago naroda* (Kiev, 1877), I, 95, in *Festschrift*, p. 286, fn. 13. Another variant of the song, quoted by Soloviev, illustrates the equation between Russian Christianity and holiness: "Vyzvol', Hospody, nevol'nika / Na iasny zory / Na ruskii bereh / Mezh mir khreshchenyi."

[39] *Donskie Dela*, III, in *R.I.B.*, XXVI, 543. On this whole problem, see S. Tkhorzhevskii, "Donskoe voisko v pervoi polovine semnadtsatogo veka," *Russkoe Proshloe*, III (1923), 9–28.

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The Moscow government as well as the Cossacks acknowledged implicitly the distinction between, or the nonidentity of, the Moscovite state and "Holy Russia."

But in this acknowledgment, there was a difference, for the government—that is, the tsar, the bureaucracy, the church, and the ideologists of Moscovite power—never used the epithet "Holy Russia." This, I think, is essential. Official political thought did not seem to be aware, or refused to become aware, of this other dimension, the popular dimension of Russia, and this official position did not change until the very end, in 1917.[40] The focus of all sanctity was in the orthodox and holy tsar; the unique function of Russia, expressed in the formula "Moscow, the Third Rome," was from the beginning, in the mid-fifteenth century, dependent on the tsar. One may argue that the quite extraordinary recovery of autocracy after the Time of Troubles signified the preservation of the thought of the monk Philotheos, that Moscow was the Third Rome and a fourth there could not be, and that the burden of preserving Christianity and the world rested upon the grand prince of Moscow, the only Orthodox ruler and therefore the ruler of all men. Salvation existed only within the political boundaries of Russia, which were determined by the power and rule of the tsar. This more or less official national pride and consciousness were symbolized by the "reigning city of Moscow," the "impregnable," the "beautiful," the "New Rome" as it was called by Avramii Palytsin, the great chronicler of the Time of Troubles, of the period of religious and political humiliation.[41]

"Holy Russia," then, was a popular epithet expressing a popular ideology. It was used by the Don Cossacks, outlaws legally but not morally or ideologically. It was a territorial concept insofar as it embraced the land of salvation, with its icons, saints, and the Christian Russian people. The way in which the epithet was used in popular folk song and epics did not prescribe the political form of Russian society; that is to say, Russia could be "Holy Russia" whether there was a tsar or not.

[40] I have been able to find only one instance of official use of the epithet, in the emergency proclamation of Emperor Nicholas I on the Revolution of 1848: "We are ready to meet our enemies, wherever they may appear, and, without sparing ourselves, we will, in an indissoluble union with our Holy Russia defend the honor of the Russian name and the inviolability of our borders." Cf. Nikolai K. Schilder, *Imperator Nikolai Pervyi* (St. Petersburg, 1903), II, 629. It is interesting to note that the epithet was used by members of the imperial family and high officials very rarely, apparently in connection with emergencies for the country. See, for example, the reaction to 1848 by the Grand Duke Konstantin Nikolaevich, *Dnevnik Velikogo Kniazia Konst. Nik.*, quoted in A. S. Nifontov, *Rossiia v 1848 godu* (Moscow, 1949), p. 202; or the speech of Mikhail V. Rodzianko before the Duma, July 26, 1914, in *Arkhiv Russkoi Revoliutsii* (Berlin, 1926), XVII, 81.

[41] *Skazanie Avraama Palitsyna,* Arkheograficheskaia Kommissiia (St. Petersburg, 1909), pp. 297–98.

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Perhaps this is the point at which one should deal with the problem of folk songs and epics. The epithet is found in the song composed for Filaret's entry into Moscow. In addition there are four folk tales preserved in seventeenth-century manuscripts.[42] In one of them, the epic of Michael Potok, are found the epithets "holyrussian hero" and "holyrussian land."[43] It is possible, therefore, that the many songs displaying the term "Holy Russia" contained it as early as the seventeenth century, even though they were not written down until 1750, at the earliest.[44] In most of them the epithet is used with standard associations. It would be superfluous to quote all the instances of use, running into the hundreds, but it is worth while noting that in the great song cycle associated with the history of Ivan the Terrible, whose image has remained so vivid among the Russian people, the epithet, used many times, is not associated with the terrible tsar or with the state; on the contrary, "Holy Russia" is employed in bawdy and satirical songs that make fun of the tsar and of his marriage with Maria Temgriukovna.[45] Here the antithesis of tsar and "Holy Russia" seems explicit.

In any case, considering the evidence for the seventeenth century and the dates of the subsequent song collections which appear in print, the epithet "Holy Russia" has been a commonplace amongst the masses, the peasants, at least from the early seventeenth century until the present.[46]

So far, we have been able only to guess at the meaning of the device, at the content of "Holy Russia." The abundance of popular sources only marks the fact that, with the possible exception of Kurbskii, no one in the educated classes, the government, the church, the gentry, or among the political thinkers, used the epithet in the seventeenth century. For the eighteenth century, one has to agree with Soloviev when he points out that neither "Holy Russia" nor "Illumined Russia" are thought of in that age of borrowed classicism.[47] It is with this background, then, that the epithet enters the nineteenth century, the last period of its history.

Valuable though it may be, it is virtually impossible to list all the instances

[42] A. P. Evgen'eva, "O nekotorykh poeticheskikh osobennostiakh russkago ustnago eposa XVII–XIX vv.," *Trudy Otdela Drevnerusskoi Literatury* (Moscow, Leningrad, 1948), VI, 177–78.

[43] *Ibid.*, p. 178, fn. 3 and 6. See also Vladimir Ia. Propp, *Russkii Geroicheskii Epos* (Leningrad, 1955), pp. 105 f.

[44] The Kirsha Danilov Collection. For details on this collection see *Festschrift*, pp. 286–87.

[45] See Vsevolod F. Miller, *Istoricheskie pesni russkago naroda,* XVI–XVII *vv., Sbornik Otd. Russ. Iaz. i Slov.,* Akademiia Nauk, XCIII (1915) pp. 41 f.

[46] See, for recent collections, Propp, pp. 508 f.; *Byliny severa* (Moscow, 1938), I, 253 f.; Alexander D. Grigoriev, *Arkhangel'skie byliny i istoricheskie pesni* (St. Petersburg, 1904–10).

[47] See *Festschrift*, p. 287. This, too, is an argument from silence, after an examination of all the more or less obvious sources. Even the appellation *Rus'* does not seem to be used, however, in an age which speaks of *Rossiia* and *Rossiane.*

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of the use of "Holy Russia" in the nineteenth century; it is sufficient to say that, from the middle of the century, it became a commonplace in all kinds of writing. The epithet appears to start its modern history with Pushkin, in his first epistle to the censor: "Tell me, are you not ashamed that in Holy Russia / Because of you no books are to be seen?" In *Boris Godunov* Pushkin describes the approach of the False Pretender to the Russian frontier; the young Prince Kurbskii, son of the exile, gallops up to the border and exclaims: "Here, here it is, here's the Russian border! / Oh Holy Russia, my fatherland, I'm yours!" And in *Eugene Onegin* Pushkin describes his hero returning, homesick, after his European travels: "Onegin rides: for he shall see / Holy Russia, her fields, / her deserts, cities and her seas."[48] It is true that the censor poem preceded *Godunov* by three years, but it is tempting to speculate whether Pushkin did not discover the epithet in his historical research for his great drama, in reading the words of the elder Kurbskii, which he then put in the mouth of Kurbskii's son. It is, of course, difficult to pin down the precise and constant meaning of the epithet for the poet. What one may call the positive symbol appears to be in contrast with the satirical use of the epithet when addressed to the censor. Yet one may argue that there is a significant parallel between Prince Kurbskii and Pushkin, between the member of the great boyar opposition of the sixteenth century and the member of the liberal aristocratic opposition of the early nineteenth, and that the similarity was felt by the poet. At any rate, Pushkin used the epithet casually, as a commonplace. The new awareness, the discovery of a popular national ideal expressed in an epithet, reflects a new period of national consciousness. What 1613 did for the masses, 1812 perhaps did not only for the masses but for the educated class, the nobility, the intelligentsia.[49] In a search for meaning, the intelligentsia revitalized an old symbol.

The period of conscious awareness of the epithet was ushered in by the Slavophiles; it is associated with the outlook claiming adherents among the greatest Russian writers and thinkers. "Holy Russia" continued through the

[48] "Skazhi, ne stydno li, chto na Sviatoi Rusi / Blagodaria tebia, ne vidno knig dosele?" "Vot, vot ona, vot russkaia granitsa! / Sviataia Rus'! otechestvo! ia tvoi!" "Onegin, iedet: on uvidit / Sviatuiu Rus's, eieia polia / Pustyni, grady i moria." For all Pushkin citations see *Festschrift,* pp. 287 f.

[49] For this suggestion there is available a truly ironic bit of evidence. In a letter of January 4, 1817, to his old friend Count (later Prince) Mikhail Semenovich Vorontsov, Count Aleksandr Khristoforovich Benckendorff wrote, about the patriotism and generosity of provincial gentry toward his troops: "C'est incalculable ce qu'on peut faire de la bonne volonté des gentilshommes, de la richesse et de la prospérité croissante de notre Sainte Russie." *Arkhiv Kniazia Vorontsova,* ed. Petr Bartenev (Moscow, 1889), XXXV, 186. One of the earliest instances of the epithet in the nineteenth century is thus in a letter by a German, educated in Bayreuth and at the famous Jesuit pension of Abbé Nikoly in St. Petersburg, written to a member of a great Russian family who was brought up and educated in England and who, like Benkendorff, thought, spoke, and wrote in French.

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nineteenth century to be the explicit concern of Slavophiles, broadly defined.[50] In this study the emphasis during the nineteenth century rests necessarily on the representatives of Slavophile philosophy. But the Slavophiles, too, needed some background material, and it is more than a coincidence that among their earliest works, in the best romantic tradition, were collections of Russian folk songs and epics.[51] It was in this way that the epithet became a commonplace for the educated classes.[52] The commonplace, however, can be interpreted, if at all, only if we know how the epithet was conceived by those who were conscious of its extraordinary nature. What questions about Russia was "Holy Russia" to answer, what kind of a reality was it to reflect, what promise did it hold for the future?

A. Soloviev suggests that the most sincere and profound thought on the subject can be found in the writings of "three representatives of Slavophile teachings—Khomiakov, Dostoevskii and Vladimir Soloviev,"[53] in which the epithet is analyzed for its content. Preceding its philosophical analysis, however, "Holy Russia," from Pushkin on, has a poetic history. The epithet carries an emotional charge, an undefined power; it expresses a vague longing as well as traditional patriotism. So Khomiakov, in a poem, *Inostranke* (To the Foreigner), written in 1832, describes a lovely girl from the south of Europe, whom he cannot love, for:

> I sing to her a song of native land
> She does not hear it, does not look.
> In front of her if I say "Holy Russia"
> The heart within her will not tremble then.[54]

For Khomiakov, as for Pushkin's Kurbskii, Russia *is* holy, and as a poet he sensed the awe that holiness inspires; it is a holiness inseparably associated with Russia. Men of the thirties and forties were awed by the very act of the discovery of Russia—the Russia which, they also discover, was for the common people "Holy Russia." The tremendous passage in Gogol's *Dead Souls* reflects this awe, this real shock at the realization of Russia:

In you, all is open, desolate, flat; your lowly towns lie scattered like dots, like specks invisible among your plains; there is nothing to allure or captivate the eye.

[50] See Nicholas V. Riasanovsky, *Russia and the West in the Teaching of the Slavophiles* (Cambridge, Mass., 1952), chap. II, *passim*.

[51] *Pesni, sobrannye P'etr om V. Kireevskim*, I–IX (Moscow, 1860–72); *Pesni, sobrannye P. N. Rybnikovym* (Moscow, 1861–67); collection of Kireevskii in *Moskovskii Sbornik* (Moscow, 1852), I, 44 f.

[52] At least one manifestation of the growing popular awareness among the educated classes is the return to the use of *Rus'* for *Rossiia;* cf. Alexei S. Khomiakov, "Predislovie k Russkim pesniam iz sobraniia P. V. Kireevskago," *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii* (Moscow, 1900), III, p. 163 and *passim*.

[53] Soloviev, p. 100.

[54] Khomiakov, *Pol. sobr. soch.*, IV, 209.

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But what mysterious inexplicable force draws one to you? Why does the mournful song that floats all over your length and breadth from sea to sea echo unceasingly in the ear? What is in it, in that song? What is it that calls and sobs and clutches at my heart? . . . Russia! what do you want of me? What unthinkable bond hides between us? Why do you look at me so and why is everything there is within you turning its eyes on me, full of expectation? . . . And still, full of perplexity I stand motionless while an awful cloud heavy with coming rains looms above my head, and thought is dumb before your immensity. What does this limitless space prophesy? Is it not here, in you that there is to be born infinite thought, when you yourself are without end? . . . And I am engulfed menacingly by the mighty space which reflects with fearful force deep within me; a supernatural power has enlightened my eyes: Oh, what a radiant, marvelous unknown to earth distance! Russia![55]

Gogol' does not here use the epithet "Holy Russia," but the question he asks, and the answer he expects, anticipate the formulations which come later: this land, so gigantic, so unearthly as to be terrifying, must have something unique, something also terrifying, to say. Russia is both something close and intimate and yet awe inspiring, unutterably prosaic and unearthly.[56] For Gogol', Russia has something to say, something to offer. Russia is a riddle. The riddle is hidden both in the past and the future; it evokes both nostalgia and anticipation. In this sense Gogol's words reflect the directions of search for answers on the part of the Slavophiles.

One of the most striking expressions of "Holy Russia" nostalgia is found only a few years after Gogol's outburst. The poet-prince Viazemskii wrote his poem *Holy Russia* as a reaction to the European events of 1848; clearly, Viazemskii was afraid of the revolutions taking place beyond the frontier. In the poem he expresses his joy that his country, "Holy Russia," escaped the infection. Russia was safe from chaos and anarchy because of her divine purpose, expressed in her glorious history, her people, her ruler, and her language. At the end of the poem, however, Viazemskii abandons the standard of political patriotism and writes:

Holy Russia! In its very meaning
Providence foretold her path
And not for nothing at her Baptism
Did He endow her with this name. . . .

Oh, safeguard then your pledge
Keep to the same self-chosen path
Before all men and before God
Oh Holy Russia, Holy be![57]

[55] Nikolai V. Gogol', *Mertvye Dushi,* I, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii* (Moscow, Leningrad, 1951), VI, 220–21.

[56] For a Western equally mystical view, see Oswald Spengler, *The Decline of the West* (New York, 1939), II, 295, fn. 1.

[57] Kniaz' P'etr A. Viazemskii, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii* (St. Petersburg, 1880), IV, 314–15.

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The poet sets forth all the basic features of "Holy Russia." From the first moment of its real (that is, Christian) existence, Russia received the endowment of holiness from God. Russia is holy not only in the eyes of Russians but objectively, in the eyes of God. This divine attribute determines Russia's life, her history. Moreover, it indicates her superhuman task: "Holy Russia" has to be holy, has to remain holy.

The poem had an even more interesting sequel in the letter the great poet Zhukovskii, Viazemskii's friend, wrote after reading *Holy Russia*. A. Soloviev calls it a "vivid but much too lyrical and brief an attempt at analysis."[58] It is tempting to quote this extraordinary document in full, but for our purpose the following will suffice:

> Holy Russia—this word is coeval with Christian Russia. It is given to her, as your verses say, at her baptism and it will never lose its deep meaning, even though it has become a commonplace [lieux communs]. . . . That which has become common, is accepted by all, it is undeniable; it has lost its novelty because of its antiquity, but for that very reason it is a necessary and universal truth. . . . So is it here: Holy Russia—how often and how long has this word been repeated, how we are accustomed to it, how some use it even ironically—but said *now* does it not astonish us with its novelty and truth? . . . Does it not make more clear our particular union with God because of which from our forefathers there came down His marvellous name of the Russian God?[59] . . . Russian God, Holy Russia —such names for God and for fatherland are not possessed by any European people. In the expression *Holy Russia* there is reflected our whole unique history; this name Russia has from its baptism,[60] but its deep meaning it acquired from the period of fragmentation into appanages, when there was one chief, great prince over various subordinate ones, when, together with the great principality there were many small independent ones, and when it all conjoined into one, not into Russia but into *Rus'*, that is, not into a state but into a family where all had the same fatherland, same faith, same language, the same memories and legends; this is why in the bloodiest civil strife, when there was as yet no Russia . . . there was for all the one, living, indivisible *Holy Rus'*. . . . Since then Russia has become a state, the particular attribute of the tsar while Holy Rus' remained as a legend, the common treasure of tsar and people. *Russia* (Rossia) belongs to the complex of European states; *Holy Russia* (Rus') is the particular hereditary property of the Russian people, confirmed to it by God.[61]

One can see why A. Soloviev calls this much too lyrical. It is not a profound and reflective analysis of the content of "Holy Russia." Yet it contains the essence of nineteenth-century thought on the subject, and it is all the more significant for its impromptu nature. What Zhukovskii expresses are the traditional, popular conceptions of "Holy Russia": It is holy through its

[58] Soloviev, p. 100, fn. 1.
[59] *Russkoi Bog*, not *Rossiiskii Bog*, Zhukovskii points out.
[60] *Kreshchatik*.
[61] Vasilii A. Zhukovskii, *Sochineniia* (7th ed., St. Petersburg, 1878), VI, 164–66. Zhukovskii then continues with a very interesting discussion on the Russian God, a subject that deserves a separate study.

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particular and unique union with God, through its possession of a special divine revelation which makes its own history reflect the image of Christ; the sign of this is the uniqueness of Russian Christianity, of Orthodoxy. And "Holy Russia" for Zhukovskii, as for the peasants, was and is something distinct from the Russian state, something greater than the state—it is the universal awareness by Russians of their union with God. This awareness includes the state and the ruler but does not require them, and this awareness exists from the moment of Russia's inception, that is, from its baptism. What "Holy Russia" signifies, then, is the historical ideal of the Russian people, objectified by its divine confirmation.

The myth which arose in the seventeenth century was carried back, as all myths, to the beginning of time. But while the Russian peasant treated it as myth, that is, outside of time, nineteenth-century thought tried to justify the epithet historically. Out of this there developed the Slavophile attempt to rewrite Russian history, to find the concreteness of Russian holiness.[62] Our concern here is not with these extremist distortions of the Russian past but rather with the problem which they raise, that of explaining Russia's history, of reconciling it with any kind of a historical ideal. History may be "a nightmare dreamt by an idiot" yet each society tries to find some justificatory explanation for it, in terms of some historical ideal image. In trying to explain Russian history, peculiarly nightmarish as it was in terms of any *Humanitas,* Russian nineteenth-century thought was certainly not unified. Only the most extreme and crudest Slavophiles sought to show that the objective ideal of "Holy Russia" had been realized in the past; nevertheless, "Holy Russia" can be used as an indicator for all the conflicting currents of thought. Thus, the Westerners, rejecting correctly the distorted glorification of the past, also rejected the ideal of "Holy Russia" and even the existence of this ideal among the people; Belinskii argues that the Russian people were not at all religious as a whole.[63] At the other extreme, the political reactionaries, the "statists" saw the glory of the Russian past but saw it in the inheritance of Byzantine imperial ideology of state and ruler; they too rejected the concept of "Holy Russia" and even the epithet.[64] "Holy Russia" apparently can be a touchstone for the problem of Russian national consciousness.

[62] See, for example, one of the earliest attempts, by Kireevskii, "O kharaktere prosveshcheniia Evropy i ego otnoshenii k prosveshcheniiu Rossii," *Moskovskii Sbornik,* I.

[63] Vissarion Belinskii, letter to Gogol', July 15, 1847, in *Sobranie sochinenii,* ed. Fedor Golovanchenko (Moscow, 1948), III, 710; see also the attack on Khomiakov's poem quoted above by the brilliant "collective" satirist Koz'ma Prutkov, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii* (Leningrad, 1953), p. 97, and Prutkov's poem, *ibid.,* p. 153. For a typical "Western" rejection of Slavophile idealization of Russia, see Mikhail E. Saltykov-Shchedrin, *O literature* (Moscow, 1952), p. 570 and *passim.* This liberal Western tradition is continued by Leonid Andreev in his article "Ubogaia Rus'," *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii* (St. Petersburg, 1913), VI, pp. 204, 208.

[64] See particularly Konstantin Leontiev, *Vostok, Rossiia i Slavianstvo* (Moscow, 1885), I,

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The search for the justification of "Holy Russia" in Russia's past, for the proof of the objective validity of the epithet, was rejected by virtually all who were concerned with the problem.[65] But if the darkness of the Russian past did not reveal holiness concretely, what of the Russian present? On this last question, the answer was nearly unanimous. Again, except for the extreme right, which was both unconcerned with holiness and pessimistic about the future, Russian writers living in the police state of Nicholas I, and even under Alexander II, saw little justification for the national ideal. That is not to say that some of them, at least at times, did not commit the fallacy of searching for holiness in reality, that is, of identifying spiritual splendor with material splendor and finding in the Russian empire the proof of holiness that in turn guaranteed further political success. One of the most striking examples of this type of occasional fallacy is Dostoevskii in his *Diary of a Writer.*[66]

What may be called the unilinear answer—Russia is holy because God made her so, and therefore this holiness is reflected in all her history and in all her actions as a state—did not satisfy those who continued to think on the problem of "Holy Russia." "A truly great people can never be reconciled to a secondary role amongst humanity, or even to a major role, but only and necessarily to the first role. Those who lose this faith are no longer a people. But the truth is one and therefore only one of the peoples can have the true God," cries out Shatov in the *Possessed.*[67] Vladimir Soloviev, the great Russian philosopher and writer, states Dostoevskii's thought more sharply: "The image of every people is not what it itself thinks of itself within time but what God thinks of it within eternity."[68] Yet Father Zosima says in the *Brothers Karamazov:* "The people stinks [*smraden*] but believes in truth," and Dostoevskii, later, in his polemic with Alexander S. Gradovskii, writes: "Our people is sinful and crude: beastly is its image."[69] So far from holy had been the Russian past that it was able to corrupt even the Russian common people, at least in their outward behavior. Implicit in this view, of course, is the cause of evil and corruption. "The state in principle is evil. . . . The state in its very idea is a lie," wrote one of the founders of Slavophilism,

280 f.; see also Konstantin P. Pobiedonostsev, *Moskovskii Sbornik* (Moscow, 1896).

[65] Soloviev, pp. 101 f.; Leontiev, *loc. cit.;* Khomiakov, *Pol. sobr. soch.*, I, 197 f.; Vladimir Soloviev, *Sobranie sochinenii* (St. Petersburg, 1901–1907), V, 147 f., 357 f. (hereafter cited as Vladimir Soloviev).

[66] Fedor M. Dostoevskii, *Dnevnik pisatelia za 1876 g., Polnoe sobranie sochinenii* (St. Petersburg, 1896), XX, p. 202 f. A variation of this theme is in the proverb quoted proudly by Ivan S. Aksakov: "In Holy Russia one does not starve to death," in Riasanovsky, p. 120.

[67] Dostoevskii, *Pol. sobr. soch.*, XII, 349–50.

[68] Quoted in Soloviev, p. 109.

[69] Quoted in Soloviev, p. 104, fn. 1.

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Konstantin Aksakov.[70] Khomiakov, developing this idea, argues that the state and Christianity are irreconcilable; the people, in fact, give all power to the ruler, the tsar, as a monstrous burden of evil which he carries for the sake of all; for power, state power, is evil.[71]

If neither the past nor the present offer the realization of "Holy Russia," what then is left? "Holy Russia demands holy deeds," warns Vladimir Soloviev,[72] and these deeds had to be envisaged for the future. Earlier Khomiakov had asked the same question and answered it: "For Russia only one task is possible: to become the most Christian of human societies."[73] Russia possesses the necessary endowment for it, contained in the concept of "Holy Russia," and only an eschatological function can justify Russian reality. What does this task mean, however, and how does one envisage a Russia which is to fulfill it? Again, there are some echoes of the Third Rome conception that there is one Christian ruler in the world, that he rules spiritually all Christians, and that he will rule them in reality;[74] but they are only echoes. Vladimir Soloviev tries to find a base for Khomiakov's belief:

> Usually a people, when trying to praise its own nationality, expresses in this praise its national ideal, that which is best in it, that which it desires most of all. Thus a Frenchman speaks of . . . *la belle France, la gloire du nom français;* an Englishman says with love . . . old England; a German rises higher and, giving an ethical character to his national ideal, with pride speaks of *die deutsche Treue.* What does the Russian people say in similar circumstances, how does it praise Russia? Does it call it beautiful or old, does it speak of Russian glory (the glory of the Russian name is sometimes found in the newspapers, but it is a translation from the French) or of Russian honesty and loyalty? . . . it speaks only of *Holy* Russia. That is the ideal: not a liberal one, not a political one, not an esthetic one, even not a formal-ethical one, but a moral-religious one.[75]

Basically, Soloviev's analysis is again a popular one. He does not reject the state, at least in the past; but in the future, where "Holy Russia" demands holy deeds, there is little room for it. The ideal is a moral-religious one, which at best is on a different level from the ideal and practice of the state.[76]

Dostoevskii solves the problem much more dramatically. Every people has a God, Shatov exclaims, but only one can have the true God: "The only people, the God-bearing is the Russian people!" In his *Diary* for 1876, Dostoevskii writes: "We have realized our universal function, our personality and role among humanity; we could not help but realize that this

[70] Quoted by Nikolai Berdiaev in *Russkaia ideia* (Paris, 1946), p. 148.
[71] *Pol. sobr. soch.*, I, 193 f.; see also Berdiaev, pp. 149 f.
[72] In Soloviev, p. 102; see also Khomiakov's poem *Rossii, Pol. sobr. soch.*, IV, 255–56.
[73] *Pol. sobr. soch.*, III, 335.
[74] See Soloviev, pp. 102 f.
[75] Vladimir Soloviev, p. 50.
[76] *Ibid.*, pp. 5 f., 35 f., 336 f., 379 f.

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function and role are unlike that of any other people for there each national personage lives only for itself and in itself, while we shall begin our function now that the time has come, just from the fact that we shall become everyone's servant, for universal peace. And this is not at all disgraceful; on the contrary this is our greatness, for it all leads to the final unity of mankind." Time and again Dostoevskii returns to this thought: "Our great Russia . . . will say to the whole world . . . its new and unheard of Word. This word will be said for the good and the truth of the unity of mankind in a new, brotherly universal union."[77] "The Russian soul, the genius of the Russian people is perhaps the most capable among all other peoples to fulfill in itself the idea of universal union and brotherhood."[78]

For Dostoevskii then, despite his occasional leaps into official chauvinism, the Russian people is the God-bearer. Despite all the evil accretions of its history "it believes in the truth. . . . The main school of Christianity through which it (the Russian people) had passed are the centuries of infinite and unending suffering which it has born during its history; when, abandoned by all, spurned by all, working for all, it remained alone with Christ the comforter, Whom it took into its soul for ever and Who in return saved its soul from despair."[79] The God-bearer is the common people, who carry Christ in them, whose history parallels that of Christ. The realization of "Holy Russia" lay, for Dostoevskii, in the process of rejoining the Russian people.

Here emerges what one may call the nineteenth-century dimension of the problem. For the intelligentsia the ideal of "Holy Russia" was not only a social but also a personal, individual ideal. This ideal, however, is realized in the Russian people, more specifically, in the Russian peasant. But it has objective reality, and therefore Shatov fails: "I only wished to find out: do you yourself believe in God or not? [asked Stavrogin]. I believe in Russia, I believe in her orthodoxy. . . . I believe in the body of Christ. . . . I believe that the second coming will take place in Russia. . . . I believe . . . Shatov murmured hysterically. But in God? In God? I . . . I will believe in God."[80] To believe in the God-bearing people is not sufficient; one has to become one of the God-bearing, and that one cannot do without believing in God, in the same way that the people do. Vladimir Soloviev returns to this question time and again: the sign of Russia's holiness is the Christian faith which imbues

[77] *Pol. sobr. soch.*, XII, 350; XX, 213; XXI, 231.

[78] Quoted in Berdiaev, *L'esprit de Dostoevski* (Paris, 1946), p. 194. Until the Russian genius is fulfilled, however, Europe necessarily fears and distrusts something that it cannot understand within its own nontranscendental frame of reference. "Holy Russia" thus provided an explanation for the national inferiority complex so typical of the Russian intelligentsia and of Dostoevskii himself. On this problem, see Riasanovsky, pp. 62 f.

[79] Quoted in Soloviev, p. 104.

[80] Dostoevskii, *Pol. sobr. soch.*, XII, 351.

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the Russian people, but it is the faith rather than the religion.[81] "Holy Russia" is not only beyond the state, but often outside the church as well. The church did perform the chief task of spreading Christianity and teaching the precepts of Christ, but now Christ is carried within the body of the people and one reaches Him through their eyes.

The history of the *narodnik* movement is not within the scope of this problem, but the underlying idea is the same as Shatov's.[82] Worship what the people worship, and because they possess the truth, the individual as well as the social problem is solved, for both are moral-religious in nature. This truth is so simple that the conversion appears miraculous. In *Anna Karenina* Levin goes for a walk in the woods, meets a peasant, and in talking to him hears the latter describe another peasant: "He lives for the soul, he remembers God. What, he remembers God? What, he lives for the soul? nearly shouted Levin. Obviously what, according to truth, according to God. Men are different. For example you, you also will not hurt a man. Yes, yes, goodby—said Levin, choking from excitement and turning around, he took up his cane and walked quickly away."[83] To live for the soul, to remember God!—these words shock Levin because he realizes they were always there, always available all around him to be used, to live by. Here is the solution for the individual—what to believe, how to live; through this the human problem has been resolved and can be universally resolved. The mystique arises out of the conviction that this individual belief is shared and therefore unites in a body mystical a whole people, the God-chosen and God-bearing people, "Holy Russia."

The historical roots of this conception, however, were clear to Vladimir Soloviev and others. "Holy Russia" had always existed in potential and in the souls of its people. What prevented it from being realized was the autocratic state of Moscow, founded on Byzantine imperial ideology, on the absolute authority of the holy emperor over the church, that is, on the destruction of social principles which attempted at least to reflect "Holy Russia."[84] The precedence in time and in eternity over the Third Rome belongs to "Holy Russia," which is to be realized in the future. The form of this future may be discerned in the convictions of the Russian people, a people who think of Peter the Great and of Napoleon as Antichrists,[85] who

[81] For example, see Vladimir Soloviev, p. 148 f.; see also Berdiaev, *Russkaia ideia,* pp. 200 f.

[82] See Dostoevskii, *Pol. sobr. soch.,* XII, 348, on the whole problem of *Narodnost'* and God.

[83] Lev N. Tolstoi, *Anna Karenina, Pol. sobr. soch.,* ed. V. G. Chertkov (Moscow, 1935), XIX, p. 376. Tolstoi's thought is brilliantly and bitterly analyzed by Dostoevskii in his review of the book, *Pol. sobr. soch.,* XXI, 240 f.

[84] Vladimir Soloviev, p. 141 and *passim.*

[85] Berdiaev, *Russkaia ideia,* p. 198. Berdiaev's statement is quite accurate as far as it goes but it is certainly doubtful that the Russian people thought of Peter and Napoleon as Antichrists because these rulers expressed the essence of worldly power, of the state, as Berdiaev implies.

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reject the path of human development: "I accept God . . . accept His wisdom and His purpose. . . . But try to understand, in the final analysis I do not accept God's world—I don't accept it, even though I know it exists, I refuse it," says Ivan Karamazov.[86] For him the harmony of the cosmos is not worth the tears of one innocent child; to see Christ is to be a rebel, the complete rebel against this world as a whole.[87] Necessarily, as Berdiaev points out, this results in an apocalyptic strand of thought; the solution of the human problem is so radical that it cannot be seen in an earthly framework.[88] Dostoevskii describes Shigalev as someone who "expected the destruction of the world . . . more or less, day after tomorrow, in the morning, precisely at twenty-five minutes after ten,"[89] and this is a common characteristic of many Russian thinkers.

This again, however, was an extreme position. The ideal of "Holy Russia" as a future reality founded on the God-bearing Russian people has persisted. Writing in 1946 Berdiaev says: "The Russian people in its eternal idea does not like the structure of this earthly city and is directed to the Coming City, the New Jerusalem; but this New Jerusalem is not separated from the gigantic Russian land, it is united with it and it (the land) will enter within it."[90]

The only alternative to this seen by Russian thinkers concerned with the problem is the reign of Antichrist,[91] or what Berdiaev calls the distortion of the Russian idea achieved by the victory of the Third Rome.[92] Holiness, however, can be interpreted in many ways, and the faith in a national (and personal) ideal dies hard. So the great pupil of Vladimir Soloviev tried to

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Peter and Napoleon were Antichrists because the former was a ruthless innovator and tax-collector, the latter a foreign invader.

[86] Dostoevskii, *Pol. sobr. soch.*, XVI, 403.

[87] *Ibid.*, pp. 410 f. In this connection one thinks immediately of Belinskii's famous outburst against Hegel in a letter to Vasilii P. Botkin, Mar. 1, 1841, in *Belinskii, Pis'ma,* ed. Evgenii A. Liatskii (St. Petersburg, 1914), II, 212–21.

[88] Berdiaev, *Russkaia ideia,* p. 202.

[89] *Pol. sobr. soch.*, XII, p. 236.

[90] *Russkaia ideia,* p. 255. To try to list all the expressions of this faith would be both impossible and unnecessary. The strength of the "Russian" idea, however, can be illustrated by some recent examples. One of the most striking of these is to be found outside of Russia and is the more interesting for it. In the introduction to his play *Santa Rusia,* Jacinto Benavente expressed his feelings: "¡Rusia, Santa Rusia, siempre Santa! Eres admiración del mundo. . . . Cristo eres tú mismo, pueblo ruso. Tú eres tu creencia, tu fe, y el plan quinquenal es el culto de esa religión de tu fe¡ Aurora del mundo, Santa Rusia, siempre Santa!" *Obras completas* (Madrid, 1940), V, 839–40. Finally, the hope of Russian holiness was brought up to date by the Metropolitan of Moscow, Nicholas, on his visit to the United States in June, 1956: "The Russian clergyman declared that 'Holy Russia' would never die. He said that thousands of years hence the church and its God would survive 'nourished by the Holy Russian soil and the faith of the Russian people.'" Harrison E. Salisbury, *New York Times,* June 4, 1956.

[91] So Dimitrii Merezhkovskii, writing during World War I, entitled an article of his (unavailable to me) "Ne Sviataia Rus'" (Not Holy Russia); cf. Maxim A. Gorki, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii* (Moscow, 1953), XXIV, 337, on Merezhkovskii's article in *Russkoe Slovo,* Sept. 11, 1916.

[92] *Russkaia ideia,* p. 218.

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preserve it, to reinterpret it for any reality. In *The Twelve,* Alexander Blok describes the October Revolution and the twelve ragged symbols of it as they march through the night with rifles at the ready. The poem ends with the famous lines:

> On they march with sovereign tread,
> With a starving dog behind,
> With a blood-red flag ahead—
> In the Storm where none can see,
> From the rifle bullets free,
> Gently walking through the snow,
> Where the pearly snowflakes blow,
> Marches rose-crowned in the van
> Jesus Christ, the Son of Man.[93]

What I hope to have shown is that "Holy Russia" represented a national popular ideal. It arose in the seventeenth century as an expression of a new national consciousness during and after the Time of Troubles. In its origin it was made possible by the thought of the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, by the idea that Orthodoxy, essentially Christianity, was restricted to the Russian land and people and was the exclusive hereditary property, in fact, of Russia. This ideal carried an antistate connotation, and it was developed and preserved among the common people, the peasants, the rebels against the society.

The symbol lived on and became a commonplace, and in the nineteenth century it was discovered by the intelligentsia, for whom 1812 perhaps played the same role as 1613 did for the masses. For the educated classes "Holy Russia" provided an established symbol for their own antistate convictions, which grew out of the ever increasing pressure of the bureaucratic state. While the epithet was taken over as a commonplace, the Slavophiles attempted to examine it consciously. Thus they rediscovered the original religious implications of what had become largely a social and political symbol. The circle was completed.

As a religious symbol, "Holy Russia" resolved not only the social problem, however, but the personal problem for members of an alienated class. The religious dimensions gave "Holy Russia" an eschatological character so that it could provide a higher truth, an explanation for reality. All societies seem to need a justification for their reality; the irony of Russian reality was such as to require the most extreme justification of all.

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[93] Trans. by Cecil M. Bowra in his *The Creative Experiment* (London, 1949), p. 182.

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# Reviews of Books

## General

ARCHITECTS AND CRAFTSMEN IN HISTORY: FESTSCHRIFT FÜR ABBOTT PAYSON USHER. [Veröffentlichungen der List Gesellschaft E. V., Band 2.] (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck). 1956. Pp. xiii, 172. Cloth DM 16, paper DM 12.50.)

THIS is an unusual *Festschrift*. Although the title (itself oddly bilingual) gives reason to expect development of the theme of workers and devisers in industry to which Usher devoted so much of his career, it is actually a collection of essays about some of the more recent architects and craftsmen in the field of economic history. The aim was to create a setting into which a summation of Usher's contributions (the final essay) might be fitted. To this end, a more than ordinarily diverse series of essays by a cosmopolitan group of scholars describes the functioning of men whose writings in the past generation have been in one degree or another sources of leadership, or at any rate centers of disputation. The reader is left to his own inferences or preferences to distinguish between the architects and the craftsmen.

Part I consists of a substantial essay by F. C. Lane on "Some Heirs of Gustav von Schmoller," Sombart, Spiethoff, Schumpeter, and Eucken, and a brief essay on Sombart by Edgar Salin. Part II, "Social Historians: Ancient and Medieval," summarizes, much less analytically, the careers of Rostovtzeff (Welles), Marc Bloch (Febvre), and Henri Pirenne (Verlinden). Part III, "Toward an Economic History of Modern Times," describes the work of Henri See (M. M. Knight), Eli F. Heckscher (A. Montgomery), J. H. Clapham (W. H. B. Court), and Usher himself (W. N. Parker).

Although it can hardly be said that the correlation of Usher with these predecessors, as a group or as individuals, was carried out as proposed, the series of studies of these generally well-selected individuals does serve as a guide to the leadership in the field of economic history and a helpful instrument for defining its various aspects. Since Keynes probably changed the terms of the economic process more than any one else, it is surprising that he should be omitted.

The organization of the essays in the book, the juxtaposition of the theorists and the historians nontheorists, and the emphasis on the theorists again raise the question of the function of theory in the writing of history. The theoretical position of Sombart is less than adequately represented because of the curious and general failure to connect him with that widespread but little appreciated movement in German thought linked with the name of Wilhelm Dilthey. Even Som-



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bart, when he describes himself as a *verstehende* economist, fails to acknowledge the connection. Somewhere he asserts the function of the historian to be like that of the artist, in that the various parts of the anatomy must fit together with verisimilitude to be "true." In short, historical and economic truth for Sombart was a relativity among the observer, the evidences, and the reconstructed actuality, not a simple positivism in the sense advanced by Marshall and Clapham. A railroad for Sombart was not merely so much rail and rolling stock; it was mobility of goods and persons.

A useful feature of the little book that should be mentioned is the bibliography of Usher's writings.

*University of Wyoming* F. L. Nussbaum

AFTER UTOPIA: THE DECLINE OF POLITICAL FAITH. By *Judith N. Shklar*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1957. Pp. x, 309. $5.00.)

This ambitious book is an outgrowth of a Radcliffe dissertation written under the direction of Carl J. Friedrich. In its original form it won a thesis prize from the American Political Science Association. To the reviewer, this circumstance offers an excellent illustration of the different standards by which theses and books are judged. The reviewer can well understand the award of a prize to Mrs. Shklar's thesis; he would be delighted if any graduate student came up with half the ideas in this book and wrote about them half so well. But a published work is a different matter. Mrs. Shklar has not had time to chew all that she bit off. She has many perceptive and incisive things to say, but also some naïve and foolish ones. She is very good on Rousseau and Godwin, but bad on Goethe (whom she has not read). She gets to the essentials of Herder, but exaggerates the cultural pessimism of the late Hegel and misunderstands Vigny. In general she writes economically and crisply, but she makes too much play with the phrase "the unhappy consciousness" and is not innocent of the utterly meaningless.

More serious than any of these objections are two others. First, it is often difficult, to put it mildly, to see how the argument of the book is furthered by Mrs. Shklar's versatile and literate ranging over the whole field of intellectual history. Second, in this reviewer's opinion, Mrs. Shklar's thesis could not be proved even by better and tighter arguments, because it is wrong. The thesis, stated repeatedly in the preface and in the introduction, is that there has been a disastrous decline not only in political utopias but in political theory as such, since the Enlightenment. This is not the place to suggest the many possible lines of attack on this contention; two specific weaknesses only are indicated. Mrs. Shklar often implies that political theory that is not optimistic is not political theory at all, and she jumps from the romantics virtually straight into twentieth-century existentialism and Christian fatalism, with only a brief backward glance at the end to Mill, Tocqueville, and Marx (whom she makes out a pessimist). She has

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read Hayek's *Counter-Revolution of Science* but seems to know little about the nineteenth-century revolution in science or the scientific utopias to which Hayek refers (those of Comte, above all, as well as Marx) and which rather damage her argument.

If it seems ungenerous to have been so severe with Mrs. Shklar, one must remember that she has offered what ought to be the fruit of a lifetime's work in her first book. Let her now deepen her knowledge, and her intellectual powers and literary gifts will take her far.

*Cornell University* W. M. Simon

## Ancient and Medieval History

ORDER AND HISTORY. Volume I, ISRAEL AND REVELATION. By *Eric Voegelin*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1956. Pp. xxv, 533. $7.50.)

In the first volume of a six-volume philosophical inquiry into the order of human existence in society, Professor Voegelin deals with the nature of Israel's unique place in human history. An analysis of symbols of truth provides the key for assessing the distinctiveness of Israel. Israel's true character emerges when its basic symbolism is contrasted with that of the civilizations of Egypt and Mesopotamia. The cosmological myth as a symbolic form gave intellectual meaning to the organization of the societies in the latter areas. In Israel, however, there appeared a radically new departure, "a leap into being," a qualitative step expressing itself in a special symbolism: "Israel alone had history as an inner form, while the other societies existed in the form of the cosmological myth." Throughout the volume there runs the exposition of this essential difference. Even when the Biblical sources for Israel's order of being are paradigmatic in character, the symbol is seen as essentially different from that of its neighbors.

In the first part of the volume the author makes use of the recent enlargement of ancient Near Eastern sources to document the imperial organizations of Egypt and Mesopotamia. His sources are the most recent translations of the texts as well as the discussions of Frankfort, Wilson, Jacobsen, and the older reliable commentaries. Just as new archaeological discoveries have made possible a reappraisal of the order of being in Egypt and Mesopotamia, so has the new freedom in dealing with the longer known sources for Israel's history made it possible to inquire into the meaning of Israel's order. The author has drawn heavily upon the significant work of Scandinavian scholars, particularly those of the Uppsala school. The relevance of this task of inquiring into the intellectual and conceptual history of ancient Near Eastern civilizations is suggested in the preface by the remark that the work should be read "not as an attempt to explore curiosities of a dead past, but as an inquiry into the structure of order in which we live presently."

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The author's terminology, more philosophical than historical, forces the reader to recast old formulations of Biblical problems and to consider them under a new set of symbols. Refreshingly individualistic conclusions offer new avenues of approach to the data. Voegelin is suspicious that there was a strong Egyptian influence upon Israel in the time of Solomon and that the Temple "was built for a god approximating in nature the Amon of the New Kingdom." The rise of the prophetic legend of Moses, a paradigm of the prophet facing the king of Israel in the typical situation of Samuel and Saul, Nathan and David, Elijah and Ahab, served well to arrest this drift toward Egypt. The author's trenchant criticism of such systems of historical appraisal as those of Wellhausen, E. Meyer, and Toynbee are perceptive. Voegelin has provided a new and stimulating approach to Israel's history.

*Church Divinity School of the Pacific* JAMES B. PRITCHARD

THE LIBERAL TEMPER IN GREEK POLITICS. By *Eric A. Havelock*. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1957. Pp. 443. $6.00.)

THERE have been many books dealing with the theory and the practice of Greek politics, but they have been concerned primarily with the great monuments, with the democracy of Periclean Athens and the treatises of Plato and Aristotle. Professor Havelock has set himself the task of studying some of the less well-known political philosophers, the pre-Socratics and the Sophists, and interpreting them in the light of modern liberalism. They emerge as evolutionary, egalitarian, democratic, internationalist, amiable, and free traders. The author writes provocatively, and the book will arouse a strong reaction, sympathetic or the reverse. It should be read by all who are interested in the subject, although the style and thought are not unfailingly limpid and metaphors are sometimes mixed.

The tone is set by a quotation from *Oedipus:* man is the child of Fortune. In the interest of his argument, Havelock here and elsewhere colors his translations to suit his argument; he calls *Tyche* "Chance," although everyone knew that there was nothing chancy about that temperamental goddess. The Greeks knew that human society was not static. They knew a little of its past and as much of its future as any men do. They recreated their history in the form of successively less attractive ages, as in the writings of Hesiod, or as progress through social and technological improvement, as sketched in *Prometheus* and *Antigone*. A late exposition of this occurs in Book I of Diodorus, the source of which must have been, or included, Anaxagoras' pupil and Socrates' teacher Archelaus, who imagined bisexual reproduction as a stage in the development of society. Man was one of the animals, but superior to the rest, and the mutual relations of man with man concerned these scholars. Why do men combine into political units? What are the forms of these, and what the best form? What is the definition of

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good in human terms? Some, such as the physicist Democritus, were supporters of democracy and praised concord and equality.

All these things are explored by Havelock, but his main concern is, nevertheless, with Plato and Aristotle, who were both reporters and critics of their predecessors. He believes that they replaced the doctrine of free development of human institutions by a teleological idealism, which was used to support their notion of a closed, static, caste society, narrow in outlook and primitive in economics, supported by a rigidly authoritarian system of education, the values of which were located in heaven and discovered by dialectic. This concept was imposed on posterity in spite of the (supposed) end of the Greek city at Alexander's conquests and the introduction of a (supposed) brotherhood of man, which the Romans later (supposedly) made the basis of their empire. This baneful influence on political and moral thought has survived to mislead the modern world.

If we could take all of this at Havelock's own evaluation, we should have to credit him with a notable achievement. He has displayed extreme ingenuity, not least in his analysis of Aristotle, which separates out everything "liberal" as non-Aristotelian. But I am not convinced that things were this simple and schematic. Ancient man was complex. He was also religious. The "liberals" fell back on a natural right as dogmatic as Plato's ideas. Aristotle's concept of education was as liberal, if more thoughtful, than that of modern educators. Plato and Aristotle were both concerned with natural development of institutions, and their intellectualism, a high achievement of the Greek *polis,* was as much and as little a "natural" phenomenon as the commercial and social life that Havelock regards as the foundations of the amity and peaceableness that looms so large in his own thinking.

*Yale University* C. Bradford Welles

THE EARLY CHRISTIAN CHURCH. Volume I, THE FIRST CHRISTIAN CENTURY; Volume II, THE SECOND CHRISTIAN CENTURY. By *Philip Carrington.* (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1957. Pp. xx, 519; xiii, 518. $17.50 the set.)

The Anglican archbishop of Quebec has here given us an important study of the Christian church in its first two centuries, with a condensed account of the third century. The narrative is based almost entirely on the contemporary documentary records, in general taken up in what the author believes to be the chronological sequence of their composition. The book is not written primarily for the specialist. Footnote references to the literature are almost entirely lacking, and the appended bibliographies make no pretense of being exhaustive. Yet the author obviously has a wide familiarity with the pertinent scholarship and has had the advantage of extensive consultations with experts. He has attempted to sketch the cultural and especially the political setting. The result is

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two solid but readable volumes with the superb mechanical workmanship to be expected of the Cambridge University Press. The text is enriched with excellent illustrations, most of them of scenes and persons which are coincident with the narrative.

The author is by no means oblivious of the controversial issues on which he has ventured an opinion, but he does not hesitate to express his judgment. For example, he has a high regard for the *Acts of the Apostles* as history and claims for Luke the authorship of the "we" sections of that book. He believes that the Fourth Gospel was by John the son of Zebedee, although he suggests that that apostle may not have composed the entire Gospel but may have left material that was worked over by others. He holds that the First Epistle of Peter was written or dictated by him whose name it bears and that the Epistle to the Ephesians was by Paul. In contrast to some specialists, he views the greetings in the final chapter of the Epistle to the Romans as a message to Christians in Rome, not as detached from some other letter. He comes out against the theory of Paul's Ephesian captivity and is of the opinion that the Babylon in *Revelation* refers to Jerusalem and not Rome. He is convinced that early Christianity was not, as many have declared, a proletarian movement, spreading solely among slaves and depressed foreign groups, because its literature shows that its intellectual and literary standards were of the highest, even if not of the classical schools, and the evidence of its cemeteries proves that it was in touch with the noble families. He thinks it probable that Paul was released from his initial imprisonment in Rome and went to Spain and then to Asia and that the Pastoral Epistles are from these years. He is thoroughly skeptical of the interpretation of the Ignatian epistle to the Romans that claims it proves the author recognized the Church in Rome as having taught other churches. He is not convinced that the famous passage in Irenaeus (*Ad. Haer.* III, 3, 1) is correctly translated "it is necessary for every church to agree" with the Church in Rome.

The author offers us some very interesting conjectures. For example, he states as a fact that Luke spent the two years of Paul's imprisonment in Caesarea in literary labors, especially in gathering the material incorporated in his Gospel and *Acts*.

Perhaps it is asking for too much, but we miss in these volumes an adequate account of Gnosticism. We are given hints of it, but only incidentally and only as viewed by its Catholic critics. It probably loomed much larger among the movements that gave a place to Jesus than could be gathered from these volumes. So, too, with the other movements regarded by the Catholic Church as heresies. The wide sweep and variety of the movements indebted to Jesus are portrayed only from the angle of the Catholic Church of the early centuries.

*Yale University* KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE

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DUMBARTON OAKS PAPERS. Number 11. Edited for the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection of Harvard University, Washington, D. C., by the Committee on Publications. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1957. Pp. ix, 277. $7.50.)

THIS volume contains four major and four minor studies covering, as is usual with the series, a variety of subjects—historical, literary, archaeological, and philosophical. It opens with an essay by H. A. Wolfson on the philosophical implications of the theology of Cyril of Jerusalem. Wolfson's brilliant analysis of Cyril's conception of faith and the doctrine of the Trinity brings to the fore their philosophical background, though Cyril himself is not considered one of the philosophical church fathers. In the study that follows, D. Obolensky examines the ecclesiastical relations between Byzantium on the one hand and Kiev and Moscow on the other. He takes the position that at the time of the conversion of the Russians it was agreed that the primates of the Russian church should be taken alternately from among the Greeks and the Russians. Obolensky shows remarkable erudition, but his arguments are not quite convincing. Still, he raises a question that should attract the attention of the students of the early history of Russia.

Very important as a historical contribution is the study offered by I. Ševčenko. We are given here the first complete edition, with an English summary and a commentary, of the work of Nicholas Cabasilas entitled "Discourse concerning Illegal Acts of Officials Daringly Committed against Things Sacred." Excerpts from this discourse have been used before, among others by the reviewer himself, and it was believed that it had been written in opposition to the measures taken by the Zealots who in the forties of the fourteenth century plunged Thessalonica into a terrible revolt. The text nowhere mentions the Zealots, and in its complete form it appears to be nothing more than a tract designed to refute the arguments of officials who resorted to the confiscation of monastic properties, a practice which was not unusual in Byzantium. Ševčenko thinks that the official attacked by Cabasilas was the chief minister of John V, but if this person did indeed confiscate the properties of monasteries, it is not impossible that, as partisans of John V, the Zealots too resorted to the same expedient and, as a consequence, were included in these attacks. It is well known, of course, that the Zealots of Thessalonica did confiscate the properties of the lay nobility. There is no doubt, however, that in refusing to consider any part of Cabasilas' discourse as constituting the social program of the Zealots, Ševčenko is absolutely right. It is unfortunate that his edition did not appear earlier, for it would have prevented Ernest Barker, who has just published in English translations an anthology on social and political thought in Byzantium, from using excerpts of Cabasilas' discourse as sources for the social philosophy of the Zealots.

The remaining major study and three of the minor ones are devoted to archaeological subjects. P. A. Underwood continues the description begun in the preceding volume of the frescoes in the paraclesion of Kariye Čami (the Chora) in

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Constantinople. G. H. Forsyth notes his observations concerning the architecture of certain early Byzantine churches in Cilicia, which he visited. A. Alföldi and Erica Gruikshank study a convex mask made of a thick sheet of silver bearing the features of a human being now in the possession of Dumbarton Oaks. M. C. Ross examines a gold medallion, "the finest surviving example from the sixth century," also in the possession of Dumbarton Oaks. All these studies have illustrations.

A more interesting account among the minor studies, at least to the reviewer, is the contribution of Speros Vryonis. This is a translation, with a brief commentary, of the will of a Byzantine provincial magnate, Eustathius Boilas, dated 1059. The document is important, especially for the social history of Byzantium in the eleventh century, for it yields detailed information concerning the possessions of a Byzantine landed magnate, including his library and his slaves. It also contains details relating to the conditions in the eastern provinces of the empire just after the Seljuk invasion had begun. It is a precious historical source.

*Rutgers University* PETER CHARANIS

ADMIRAL EUGENIUS OF SICILY, HIS LIFE AND WORK, AND THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE *EPISTOLA AD PETRUM* AND THE *HISTORIA HUGONIS FALCANDI SICULI*. By *Evelyn Jamison*. (New York: Oxford University Press for the British Academy. 1957. Pp. xxiii, 400, 19 plates. $11.20.)

EVERY student of medieval intellectual history knows the Emir Eugene of Palermo as one of the most remarkable figures of the twelfth century. Ptolemy's *Optics* survives only in his Latin translation from the Arabic; he collaborated in a Latin translation of the *Almagest* from the Greek; he likewise turned the *Prophecy of the Erythraean Sibyl* (later so useful to the Joachites) from Greek into Latin; he revised a Greek translation, *Stephanites and Ichnelates,* of an Arabic version of a Pahlavi recension of the Sanskrit *Pancatantra;* finally, we have twenty-four Greek poems of his own. So recently that Miss Jamison could not cite it, Albert Lejeune has published a critical edition of *L'Optique de Claude Ptolemée dans la version latine d'après l'arabe de l'émir Eugène de Sicile* (Louvain, 1956). Yet little in detail has been known of Eugene's life or official career.

At last, thanks to Miss Jamison's unmatched mastery of both the published and the archival materials of Sicily and southern Italy, the great admiral emerges from the shadows and becomes a three dimensional figure. We had not known with certainty, for example, whether he was still living after the reign of William I of Sicily. Now we have lavish documentary proof that, save for a period of imprisonment in Germany under Henry VI, he continued in the Sicilian bureaucracy even into the early years of Frederick II. Students of Hohenstaufen administration will be interested by evidence that, as head of the fiscal organization under William III and Constance, Eugene effected reforms credited to the later period.

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This is a volume to be read, as well as consulted, by all who are concerned with the confused transition from Norman to Hohenstaufen rule, for here *Eugenius redivivus* brings his epoch with him from the tomb.

Not content with this miracle of Lazarus, Miss Jamison tries to show that Eugene wrote the remarkable anonymous *Historia de Regno Sicilie* and the related *Epistola ad Petrum* (surely from the same pen), which pass under the name of Hugo Falcandus. In praise of their author she might have quoted the normally acidulous Gibbon: "His narrative is rapid and perspicuous, his style bold and eloquent, his observation keen: he has studied mankind and feels like a man." The learning, acumen, and ingenuity that she displays to prove her case not only make her pages exciting reading but also provide much new light on both *Epistola* and *Historia.*

Nevertheless, this reviewer is not convinced that Eugene wrote them, for the following reasons. (1) While a Greek poem refers to Eugene as "Clio's child," we need search no further than his vanished Greek metrical life of St. Agatha, patroness of Catania, to account for his having some reputation as a historian in Italo-Greek literary circles. (2) Miss Jamison establishes a high probability that certain parts of the chronicle of the Cistercian abbey of St. Mary at Ferraria, in the Terra di Lavoro, preserve Eugene's "table-talk in the abbot's parlour" during his lengthy visit at that monastery in 1189. The notable differences between some of these passages and related accounts in the *Historia* would indicate that Eugene did not write the latter. Miss Jamison's view that the Ferraria version reflects a stage in the evolution of Eugene's historical thinking is open to question. (3) Miss Jamison shows brilliantly that the *Historia*'s treatment of the career of Maio of Bari is largely schematized in terms of the Indian animal tales of which Eugene had revised the Greek translation. But surely this does not add weight to the theory that Eugene wrote the *Historia.* His *Stephanites and Ichnelates* must have been widely circulated in the trilingual court of Palermo, and no one has ever doubted that the *Historia* was written by an official who had seen long service there. Similarly, parallels between descriptions of the horrors of Etna's eruption in February, 1169, contained in both the *Epistola* and the *Prophecies of the Erythraean Sibyl* are too casual to demand a single author and neglect the fact that other courtiers than Eugene—Henry Aristippus, for example—were greatly impressed by such phenomena. (4) The preface of the anonymous translation of the *Almagest* says that Eugene was "tam grece quam arabice lingue peritissumus, latine quoque non ignarus." His known works confirm the impression that he was much more at home in Greek than in Latin. Miss Jamison insists that the preface to his translation of the *Optics* shows that Eugene "could write Latin really well." But we must not confuse the keenness of mind shown in this preface (and Lejeune, its most recent editor, even disparages Eugene's intellectual penetration!) with its pedestrian manner. There is nothing in Eugene's Latin writings which approaches that Latinity of Falcandus which entranced Gibbon. Moreover,

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as would be expected of a gentleman of the Siculo-Greek aristocracy, Eugene's authentic writings exhibit a mind saturated chiefly in the Hellenic tradition: Homer, Plato, Lucian, the Septuagint, Chrysostom. Hugo Falcandus, on the other hand, is overwhelmingly Roman in his literary formation: Sallust, Quintillian, Lucan, Cicero, Boethius, perhaps even Tacitus.

Falcandus and the Admiral Eugene served the same polyglot court during roughly the same period. They saw eye to eye on many of the burning issues of the time. Doubtless they were friends. But one was a Greek, and the other was an unknown Latin who wrote "one of the greatest mediaeval works of history, fragment though it be."

*Mills College* LYNN WHITE, JR.

THE AGE OF DANTE: A CONCISE HISTORY OF ITALIAN CULTURE IN THE YEARS OF THE EARLY RENAISSANCE. By *Domenico Vittorini*. (Syracuse, N. Y.: Syracuse University Press. 1957. Pp. xv, 188. $6.00.)

IN this brief but handsomely printed volume, with illustrations by Fred Haucke, the author asserts that he aims to cover "the culture and literature [of Italy] from the eleventh century to the death of Dante in 1321." This aim, however, is not fully realized since only the introduction and the first three chapters relate, in summary fashion, to the centuries preceding Dante; the remaining seven pertain specifically to the developments, chiefly in the vernacular, of poetry, both popular and courtly, and of prose, in Dante's own time. These chapters reveal clearly the author's competence in the field of Italian literature in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries and testify to his ability to enhance our appreciation of the literary masterpieces of that epoch. He has provided a concise and lucid account of Dante's career and of his poetry and prose works, and he has done so in direct relation to the contemporary scene and to Dante's associates. The author's skillful citation and use of illustrative lines from the literary works themselves increase the interest and fascination of the sections relating particularly to Dante. One is inclined to regret that the author did not concentrate wholly upon this phase of his subject, instead of permitting himself to be drawn into the vortex of a historical introduction, in which he has weakened his entire work. Vittorini has added to rather than helped to dispel the prevalent confusion about the periods covered, by repeating, as if they were accepted historical facts, such challengeable generalizations as the following: "The age of the Italian Communes bore the seed whence modern Democracy developed"; "The merchants were the first contributors to democratic civilization in the new phase of western culture that we are about to study"; and "in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, there had already appeared universities independent of ecclesiastical institutions and different from the classical schools oriented about great teachers like Plato and Aristotle. The new schools were independent of the personality of the teacher. In the new age, it was the master who followed the school."

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Although the introduction, on the more positive side, gives a good idea of the versatility of the age and of the interests other than humanistic that prevailed, the author's use of general labels has led him to contradict himself. For example, he asserts that he has "discarded the term 'mediaeval' . . . and has substituted for it Christian Age," because the use of the term "mediaeval" places too great an emphasis upon the classical culture. He then calls "Early Renaissance" the centuries that follow the Christian Age, that is, the centuries with which he would deal, "from the eleventh century to the death of Dante," since they are "an age of radical change in every aspect of Italian life—political, social, religious and cultural." He later defines the term "Renaissance" as meaning a "rebirth of civilization in new forms," while he maintains "that Classicism was the main factor in the civilization of that epoch." He also emphasizes the continuity of the attachment to classicism and asserts that it never passed out of vogue. "Classical culture survived without interruption all through the Christian Age and the Renaissance." Dante, Boccaccio, Petrarch, and Salutati are linked together in the "Early Renaissance," or "Age of Dante," which the author now says extended "from the eleventh to the end of the fourteenth century." Yet in the concluding statement of the volume, there is a clear separation of Dante from the rest: "With Dante's death in 1321, an age ended and a new one, represented by two younger poets and learned men, Petrarch and Boccaccio, arose."

Vittorini has indeed deepened our appreciation of the contributions to vernacular poetry and prose made by Dante and his immediate contemporaries, but he has done so only when he has turned to the works themselves and has left behind him the use of such "name handles" as medieval; Christian age; Renaissance, early or late, scientific or aesthetic; classicism; humanism; cultural zones; and the like, which obscure the earlier sections. One may indeed ponder the question whether the author has heeded well the quotation he himself cites from Étienne Gilson: "Pour savoir ce que furent le moyen âge et la Renaissance, il ne faut pas les définer a priori, puis en écrire l'histoire, mais en écrire l'histoire puis les définer." And one may especially reecho the last phrase: "C'est le contraire que l'on fait."

*Hunter College* PEARL KIBRE

## Modern European History

THE NEW CAMBRIDGE MODERN HISTORY. Volume I, THE RENAISSANCE, 1493–1520. Edited by *G. R. Potter*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1957. Pp. xxxvi, 531. $7.50.)

More than fifty years have elapsed since the publication of the first volume of the *Cambridge Modern History,* and the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press are not alone in their feeling that that venerable work was becoming in some

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respects obsolete. Not only has the scholarly research of the intervening half century added greatly to our knowledge but, more important, the development of historical thought has, we trust, both broadened and deepened our understanding of the past, so that even where no new factual material has come to light we feel the need for reinterpretation. The question whether our view of history does in fact represent a closer approximation to objective truth than that of our forerunners is, however, irrelevant. Each generation, whether consciously or not, views the past in the light of its own experience, interests, and preconceptions, and in accordance with these it selects, judges, and interprets the infinite mass of available historical fact. That this is so is more clearly realized today than it was fifty years ago. As Sir George Clark points out in his excellent general introduction, one of the differences between the thought of our generation and that of the men who created the first *Cambridge Modern History* under the aegis of Lord Acton is that they believed that through the application of a rigorous historical method it was possible to write "definitive history," whereas the historians of our generation "expect their work to be superceded again and again." There is, then, no lack of respect for a magnificent achievement involved in the conviction that a *New Cambridge Modern History* is now needed.

In common with countless other historians, this reviewer had looked forward with keen anticipation to the appearance of the first volume of the new series, and it is with regret that he feels forced to record his reaction to it as, on the whole, one of disappointment. Is this the fruit of fifty years of research and interpretation? In most of the chapters and still more in the planning of the volume as a whole the evidences of new points of view, of deeper insights or broader vision, seem disappointingly few. Perhaps this reaction is merely the natural result of having expected too much. Or perhaps the inescapable relativism of our time has made the contributors less confident and, therefore, less sure-footed than their more complacent predecessors.

In view of the general shift in interest in recent years from political history to the various aspects of the history of civilization, it was natural to expect that less space would be devoted to detailed political narrative, where, moreover, less new material has come to light than in most other fields. In fact, fewer pages are devoted to narrative history in the new volume than in its predecessor, but this is largely because it is a smaller book, the text being 223 pages shorter. It should also be noted that most of the chapters dealing with individual countries include two or three pages on economic and social conditions in addition to the conventional political story. The volume of political history is also diminished by the unaccountable exclusion of the history of England during the crucial years of the founding of the Tudor monarchy. If from the point of view of the cultural historian this represents a gain, it is at best a negative one. The corollary expectation that more emphasis would be placed on economic, social, cultural, and religious history is but very slightly satisfied.

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Economic history has been one of the most fruitful fields of research in the period of the Renaissance during the past fifty years, one in which great quantities of new factual material have been discovered, with resultant radical reinterpretation. One might expect, then, that William Cunningham's chapter on "Economic Change" in the old volume, a masterpiece for its time, would be replaced by one embodying the results of recent research into the history of early capitalism and business enterprise and the problem of economic recession and revival during the Renaissance. The present volume, on the contrary, treats European economy only incidentally in a chapter devoted to a geographical survey of "The Face of Europe on the Eve of the Great Discoveries." The only other discussion of economic developments is to be found in a rather cryptically entitled chapter, "Expansion as a Concern of All Europe," which deals largely with the impact upon Europe of the importation of bullion after the conquest of Mexico and Peru and with the later English, French, and Dutch overseas expansion, a chapter oddly out of place in a volume that bears 1520 as its terminal date.

Another field in which a great deal of scholarly work has been done in recent years is the history of music. It is, indeed, for all practical purposes a new field so far as the Renaissance is concerned and one in which a growing public interest has been aroused by numerous excellent recordings. It is surprising, then, to discover not a single mention of the subject in a volume of which the chronological limits coincide with the mature life of Josquin des Prez and the high point of Netherlandish polyphony. This omission is the more striking in view of the fairly full survey of the visual arts and vernacular literature. Rudolf Wittkower's section on Italian art, in particular, shows evidence of certain recent tendencies in interpretation. Roberto Weiss's chapter on learning and education, on the other hand, seems fairly conventional and too packed with factual information to leave much room for interpretation. Roger Aubenas furnishes a masterly and nicely balanced picture of the papacy and the Church on the eve of the Reformation, but the religious currents in the north—the *Devotio Moderna* and Christian Humanism—receive inadequate attention, although they are placed in their proper historical setting in Hans Baron's introductory survey of "Fifteenth Century Civilization and the Renaissance," which is, incidentally, the most satisfactory effort at interpretation in the book.

Perhaps it is unfair to judge a work of this scope by the introductory volume, one, moreover, bearing the title of *The Renaissance,* for few periods in history have been subjected to more conflicting interpretation during the past half century. Very little evidence of the controversy over the name and nature of the Renaissance, however, appears here except in Denys Hay's rather rambling and argumentative introduction. Possibly this is because the chronological scope of the volume has been formally limited to a very small segment of the Renaissance—the years between 1493 and 1520. (Incidentally, why 1493?) Most of the contributors have very properly overpassed these arbitrary boundaries in one direction

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or the other, but the titular restriction may well have operated to discourage more comprehensive interpretation of this crucially important period. A glance through the prospectus issued by the Cambridge University Press suggests, indeed, that the first volume may not be entirely typical. Nevertheless, political history seems still to hold the dominant place, and, sad commentary on the experience of this war-torn generation, every single volume has at least one chapter on the armed forces and the art of war. Economic history seems to receive more systematic treatment, but there is still no evidence of the place of music in Western culture, even in the generations of Bach, Beethoven, and Brahms. Rash as it may be to form a judgment at this point, the evidence now available seems at least to suggest that, if the old *Cambridge Modern History* was approaching obsolescence, the new series will not materially hasten that process. The old volumes will still remain useful works of reference. The lack of bibliography will certainly diminish the usefulness of the new series in this respect. One can agree with the argument that there are more bibliographies available now than there were fifty years ago, and no one would want the new volumes to contain a hundred pages of bibliography apiece as the old ones did. A brief, selective list of the most significant recent works on each subject, however, would have been welcome.

*University of Western Ontario* WALLACE K. FERGUSON

EUROPA IM ZEITALTER VON RENAISSANCE, REFORMATION UND GEGENREFORMATION, 1450–1650. By *Hellmuth Rössler*. [Weltgeschichte in Einzeldarstellungen, Band IV.] (Munich: F. Bruckmann. 1956. Pp. xv, 719. DM 28.)

MOST people entrusted with a review probably outline it in their minds while reading the book. When reading Rössler's *Europa im Zeitalter von Renaissance, Reformation und Gegenreformation,* I was sketching in my mind not one, but three different reviews.

The review planned while reading the first section of the book, which surveys the situation in the various parts of Europe during the century from 1440 to 1540, was unfavorable. First of all, I was irritated by a lack of scholarly precision. The book has neither a bibliography nor footnotes but a large number of quotations behind which the name of their author is printed in brackets, without any further information. Statements, particularly in the sections on Italy and England, are frequently vague, often misleading, and sometimes erroneous. In dealing successively with the various countries of Europe and in trying to show a relationship between the achievements in the arts and literature and the developments in the political sphere, the author establishes rather doubtful connections, for instance, between the policy of Francis I and the architecture of his palaces. Moreover, this method creates the very questionable impression that in the sixteenth century

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Europe was already divided into distinct national civilizations and that a supranational intellectual community hardly existed.

The two hundred pages of the second section of the book seemed to me to deserve a much more favorable and positive review. This part deals with the rise of different confessions within Christianity and the impact of the religious differences on the European political constellation. The sections on Calvinism and on the Jesuits and the Catholic Reformation are not very new or original but are a helpful presentation of the decisive facts and developments. The material on the rise of Lutheranism is very fine, demonstrating full acquaintance with recent research. Debated issues—such as Luther's attitude to the state, his differences with the Anabaptists, his relation to Melanchthon—are discussed clearly, without simplification of these complicated problems.

The rest of the book does not remain on this high level. The last parts, which discuss the developments from the end of the sixteenth century to the close of the Thirty Years' War, invite a very critical judgment, but for reasons very different from those which determined the negative evaluation of the first section. Although the author continues to discuss artistic and literary developments, these seem to form an alien element in a story that is chiefly diplomatic and military history. This part is rather pedestrian and overcrowded with facts, yet it has its usefulness. I know of few works in which the religious affiliations of the greater and smaller German princes, their family connections, and the changes in their alliance policies are contained in such detail. The chief impression created by this overabundance of details, however, is one of confusion.

It is not difficult to explain the unevenness of this work. The author does not seem to have had a clear idea of his audience. Sometimes he seems to be writing a textbook; other times it appears that he is aiming at the educated layman; sometimes the work seems to be meant for the historical scholar. Thus the author gives at some places pure narration, at others a cultural synthesis, and at others a brief scholarly investigation of a special problem. It is obvious, moreover, not only that the author is chiefly interested in German history but also that his knowledge of the other areas of Europe and of recent scholarly literature about their history is very limited. One of the consequences of this concentration on the rather static German history is that the author shows little interest in the economic developments and social changes that took place in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and had a powerful influence on the shifts in the European power constellation. According to him, the factors bringing about the transformation in the European scene were chiefly diplomatic maneuverings, or happenings of a fortuitous or arbitrary character. The reader closes the book with the feeling of having learned a great number of facts without finding them made intelligible by any kind of pattern.

*Bryn Mawr College* FELIX GILBERT

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ÜBERGANG ZUR MODERNE. By *Alessio Bombaci, Karl Eder, Walther Hubatsch, et al.* [Historia Mundi, Band VII.] (Bern, Switzerland: Franke Verlag. 1957. Pp. 527. DM 28.80.)

THE *Historia Mundi* was planned by Professor Fritz Kern of the University of Bonn, whose untimely death in 1950 occurred before the publication of any of the ten volumes of this work. His intention to produce a series of volumes written from a dispassionate, international point of view is being realized under the editorship of Professor Fritz Valjavec of the University of Munich. In general, the conventional periodization of history is retained. The title of Volume VII, *Übergang zur Moderne,* covering European history from 1450 to 1750, is the least descriptive of all the titles.

In addition to the editor, eleven recognized authorities in their respective fields from universities in Germany, Switzerland, Austria, England, and Italy contributed to the volume. It begins with a chapter on the background and beginnings of the expansion of Europe by Gustav Adolf Rein of the University of Hamburg. The Reformation period is presented in two chapters, the rise of Protestantism by Leonhard v. Muralt of the University of Zurich and the Catholic "restoration" by Karl Eder of the University of Graz. Both chapters are exceptionally free of religious bias. Neither one, however, gives sufficient attention to the Reformation in England or to the spread of Protestantism and Catholicism to the New World. The Protestant orthodoxy of the half century following the Thirty Years' War and the religious awakening in much of Europe during the first half of the eighteenth century are well portrayed by Ernst Staehelin of the University of Basel.

The political history of Europe during the Reformation era is presented by Hellmuth Rössler of the Technical University of Darmstadt under the heading, "Geschichte des europäischen Staatensystems von Maximilian I. bis zum Ende des Dreissigjährigen Krieges," and the three subheadings, "Die Auflösung des Abendlandes," "Das europäische Staatensystem im Zeichen der Konfessionen," and "Der Dreissigjährige Krieg." For the century after the Peace of Westphalia, there is a chapter on the absolute monarchy and its system, written by Sir Charles Petrie of the University of London. Wilhelm Treue of the University of Göttingen presents a well-rounded and helpful discussion of mercantilism and economic developments in general during the age of absolutism; Rössler deals with absolutism in western Europe and Walther Hubatsch of the University of Bonn traces the political developments in central and northern Europe during the same period. Rössler's attempts to explain certain political movements by the use of such terms as "Adelsrepubliken," "Adelsnationen," and "Calvinischer Absolutismus" seem to confuse rather than clarify, although he provides masterful summaries of complicated political events.

Fritz Valjavec, the editor, and Hans Wühr, both of the University of Munich, contribute the chapter on "Kultur und Kunst des Barocks," a stimulating sum-

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mary. Unfortunately, the treatment is not so extensive as the subject deserves in a work originally planned from the point of view of the history of culture. The remarkable scientific contributions of the period, for example, are allotted only a relatively short paragraph. The history of eastern Europe is treated in the last two chapters, that of Russia by Günther Stökl of the University of Cologne and that of the Ottoman empire by Alessio Bombaci of the University of Naples. Both are competent surveys along conventional lines.

Like most compilations of this kind, the volume suffers from a lack of unity, yet to a surprisingly small extent. Where overlapping occurs, cross references to other chapters and volumes are indicated in parentheses. The book contains an index of names and one of subjects and places, although neither one is analytical, a few—too few—excellent maps, and a historical chart of important events that took place from 1450 to 1750. The brief bibliographies at the end of the volume are well selected but not annotated. Despite its minor shortcomings, the book is a significant addition to the literature of a period of history that today is undergoing a thorough and a widespread reexamination.

*Ohio State University* HAROLD J. GRIMM

ASPECTS DE LA PROPAGANDE RELIGIEUSE. Studies by *G. Berthoud, et al.* Preface by *Henri Meylan.* [Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, Volume XXVIII.] (Geneva: Librairie E. Droz. 1957. Pp. xviii, 428. 60 fr.S.)

THE veteran editor Mlle. Droz has here produced a work of superb scholarship and exquisite typography. The reproductions of illustrations from sixteenth-century works are particularly pleasing. After this labor of Hercules, Mlle. Droz is reported to have taken her first vacation in thirty years. Never was a rest better earned. The work is itself an example of Renaissance universalism. Four languages appear: French, German, Italian, and English. Among the sixteen contributors five are American, nine are women.

The book deals with the dissemination of the Reformed doctrine throughout Europe, and there is not an article that does not augment our knowledge. Since for the better part of the sixteenth century Huguenot propaganda was interdicted in France, of necessity it had to be clandestine. One learns from this work of the many devices employed by the underground of that generation.

A great many of the articles deal with printers, including three by Mlle. Droz. The first tells the amazing story of Pierre de Vingle, who in his later life was printer for Farel at Neuchatel. In his earlier years, from 1525 to 1532, Vingle worked in Catholic Lyons and was already covertly engaged in printing the works of Farel. To cover up, Vingle brought out Eck's *Enchiridion.* In 1533 Vingle transferred to Geneva and there was responsible for the inflammatory *Les Grans Pardons.* The second article deals with Laurent Maigret and his connection with *Les Grans Pardons.* The third is devoted to Antoine Vincent, who organized the

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greatest printing success of the century through a multitude of editions of the Protestant Psalter.

Gabrielle Berthoud points out that among the works printed by Vingle are some of a peculiar genre, ostensibly Catholic, covertly Protestant. Annie Tricard deals with the Parisian printer Simon du Bois, who insinuated into other works selections from Erasmus and Luther. By such devices a veritable corpus of Luther's writings was circulated in France. Natalie Davis gives an account of the psalm singing printers of Lyons. In this instance the term printer refers to the actual typesetter. In Lyons these workmen had always been rowdy and addicted to anti-clerical demonstrations, which could easily be shifted to propaganda for the Reform to the embarrassment of the more decorous reformers. Mrs. Davis has a second article on the ironic fate of the publisher Benoit Rigaud, who, after bringing out anti-Catholic works, returned to the Church. The Reform continued to issue secretly one of his anti-Catholic polemics under his name. Robert Kingdon discovers that the best sellers of the house of Étienne were Protestant religious books.

Robert Hari discusses the printing and authorship of the famous *Placards* of 1534, the genuine text of which was first discovered in 1943. The *Placards* came out at a most unstrategic moment for the Reform, because at that moment Francis I was engaged in conciliatory negotiations with the German Protestants. The *Placards* put an end to all mediation. They emanated from Neuchatel. Farel was long suspected of complicity, but curiously this bellowing reformer at the moment favored negotiation. Antoine Marcourt, long considered the author, had indeed a part, but the most vitriolic passages came from Georges Grivat, one of the group at Neuchatel who deliberately covered the incident with silence. S. Stahlmann studies handwritten inscriptions in books as a clue to their dissemination. By such means one learns of the circulation of the works of Castellio in Poland.

Other articles deal with the content of the propaganda and the activities and ideas of the propagandists. Alain Dufour discusses one of the satires against the League, the *Catechisme du Docteur Pantalon et de Zani*. Delio Cantimori takes up three points: astrological literature in Italy of the sixteenth century with religious intent, the Nicodemitism of the Italian humanist A. Bocchi, and anti-trinitarian cartoons against the Trinity. Henri Meylan, who also writes the introduction, uses his erudition to interpret a cartoon on the religious situation in the cantons in 1584. Edouard Pommier illustrates from the records of the Inquisition at Venice the way in which the Reform was spread in that region. G. Brasart-de Groër shows that the Collège de la Trinité at Lyons was actually an agent for the infiltration of the Reform.

Several articles are biographical. S. Stahlmann contributes a fresh study of the relations of the amazing William Postel, who for a time belonged to the Jesuits and yet fraternized with even the most radical Protestants. Elizabeth Feist Hirsch presents an account of Justus Velsius, a medical humanist, who was in turn

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Catholic, Lutheran, and a Free Spirit. D. Thickett, who has already published an admirable bibliography of Étienne Pasquier, here treats systematically of his views on religious liberty. On the basis of some ten anonymous tracts attributed by her to him she is able to exhibit the course of his development. He emerges as a consistent Catholic liberal. H.-L. Schlaepfer tells the story of Laurent de Normandie, who expended a fortune in the dissemination of Protestant tracts in France. Fascinating details are given with regard to the colporteurs. Paul F. Geisendorf gives three examples of the outcome of propaganda: Claude Haton experienced success, Agrippa d'Aubigné suffered failure, and L'Estoile, as a judge of propaganda, exhibited impartiality.

*Yale University* ROLAND H. BAINTON

THE COPERNICAN REVOLUTION: PLANETARY ASTRONOMY IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF WESTERN THOUGHT. By *Thomas S. Kuhn.* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1957. Pp. xviii, 297. $5.50.)

IT had become easy to imagine that nothing very original was left to be done on the subject of the Ptolemaic system and the Copernican Revolution. Professor Kuhn's book shows us, however, that there was still a world of exposition to be opened up, if the technicalities of the astronomers and the mathematicians could be more intimately related to their human context—to that mentality and that peculiar feeling for things which made the assumptions of Aristotle and Ptolemy so plausible, so apparently inescapable, at the time. No other book is so patient, so comprehensive, so sensitive, in its recovery of the experience and the outlook from which the older scientific theories emerged. No other book so enables us to see the intellectual hurdles that existed and to relive something of the process of actual scientific discovery. The achievement is even of methodological interest, for we gain a vivid picture of the kind of resources that can still be drawn upon to enrich our historical explanations, if we proceed to a further degree of analysis.

The system of epicycles and deferents, as well as the process of its development, is now made understandable to the ordinary historical reader. The connection of the scholastic theory of "impetus" with the Scientific Revolution now becomes closer, more vivid, and more convincing than ever before. The author has an exhilarating way of confronting us with the large problems as well as the small, for example: "Every civilisation and culture of which we have records has had an answer for the question: What is the structure of the universe? But only the Western civilisations which descend from ancient Greece have paid much attention to the heavens in arriving at the answer."

Kuhn could spend the rest of his life filling up the spaces in his book after the pattern that he himself has set. Perhaps the one disappointment in his work is the fact that only a third of it deals with the period that most requires his particular methods—the period when the Copernican theory suffered such vicissitudes,

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waiting for Sir Isaac Newton to arrive. Kuhn has added much to our understanding of even this period; his account of Descartes' theory of vortices is remarkably vivid in its exposition and a beautifully economical piece of criticism. He is illuminating in his account of the connection between the spread of the Copernican system and the revival of ancient atomic theories. Some of the big problems are not quite solved, however, and where Kuhn differs from previously existing views he does not always lay out the evidence that is supposed to exclude these latter. It is not clear, for example, that he sufficiently emphasizes the effect of the astronomical discoveries of the late sixteenth century, which presented inescapable new data, while Copernicus offered only an alternative hypothesis for the explanation of the older data. It would be useful to know more exactly the degree to which Tycho Brahe's alternative astronomical system gained acceptance—a point that may possibly prove more important than has been imagined. I am not sure that a concrete study of the disciples and admirers of Galileo would not reveal the existence of more reservations on the subject of the Copernican hypothesis than Kuhn seems to suggest. And at those levels of thinking and feeling he has proved himself so competent to illuminate, one could wish to have from him a closer study of the cosmological ideas in seventeenth-century literature and a more detailed examination of the theological implications of the scientific controversy.

*Cambridge University* HERBERT BUTTERFIELD

FATTI E FIGURE DEL SEICENTO ANGLO-TOSCANO: DOCUMENTI INEDITI SUI RAPPORTI LETTERARI, DIPLOMATICI E CULTURALI FRA TOSCANA E INGHILTERRA. By *Anna Maria Crinò*. [Biblioteca dell' "Archivum Romanicum." Serie I: Storia, Letteratura, Paleografia, Volume 48.] (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore. 1957. Pp. 406.)

DR. Anna Maria Crinò's collection of erudite essays based upon materials drawn from Italian and British archives is the forty-eighth volume in a series of rare studies in history, literature, and paleography, which the "Archivum Romanicum," founded by Giulio Bertoni, has been issuing for the enrichment of the scholarly community. As in the case for most of the volumes in such enterprises, Dr. Crinò's book reminds us that its attraction for the general reader may prove proportionate to the scope of the monographs. In such case, too, the success of the reviewer in intelligibly telescoping its varied content and contribution may depend upon the space an editor finds possible to allot.

Dr. Crinò's volume contains twenty-six different articles, of varying length and interest, on literary, diplomatic, and cultural topics connected only by her admirable dedication to the study of Anglo-Tuscan "relations" during the seventeenth century. All of the essays are based upon original archival research. Some of them are of mere marginal, bibliophilistic and paleographic, interest (numbers 2, 3, 5, 9, 12, 14, 23, 24, 25, 26); others deal with sufficiently significant episodes

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in Anglo-Tuscan history to deserve the careful attention of the historians of the late Elizabethan, early Stuart, and Restoration periods. This is especially true of the two articles dealing with Sir Henry Wotton's correspondence in the Florentine archives, which offers insights into the state of the continent in the post-Armada period, and with Roberto Ridolfi's reports to the Tuscan Grand-Duke Ferdinand I, on his obscure adventures and dangerous peregrinations. For the students of Russian and American history there are the letters, drawn from the *Mediceo,* of Jan Van Dam to Cosimo III and those of Thomas Platt to Apollonio Bassetti, chief of the Granducal Code Office, on Peter the Great's famous visit to England and, from the Venturi-Ginori archives, Platt's pithy "A Short Account of the King's Dominions in America," written for the benefit and enlightenment of the Tuscan court in 1690. The student of Tuscan history will find among the most intriguing the documents, also drawn from the *Mediceo,* concerning Sir Robert Dallington's "shocker" and shaker of Anglo-Tuscan diplomatic relations—the notorious *Survey of the Great Duke's State of Tuscany in the Year of Our Lord 1596.* The later counterpart of Dallington's sensation-mongering revelations may be read in Dr. Crinò's analysis of Lorenzo Magalotti's *Relazione* from England, giving first-hand and often intimate information on the Restoration libertines, on courtiers, artists, scientists, literati—and London's most beautiful ladies.

Dr. Crinò's lavishly documented, many faceted, and tastefully illustrated volume is a feast for the student of Anglo-Tuscan cultural *rapporti.* Necessarily, the feast must here be shared only as a cold bill of fare. Dr. Crinò rightly speaks of *rapporti* rather than of "relations," a word that too often says too much or too little when referring to what was involved in politics and culture between a nascent English nation with its face toward the future and an old Italian *Stato* whose days of power were done but whose glories of the mind were not yet, in that stirring seventeenth century, mere remembrances of great things past. Whatever had come to divide them or drive them toward contrasting fates, there were no iron curtains of the mind raised between the lands and times of Galileo and Newton, of Torricelli and Boyle, indeed, of Magalotti and Pepys. Impressively, if only implicitly, Anna Maria Crinò's essays reiterate, in their cumulative scholarly message, the impelling role of what we periphrastically style "cultural exchange," that is, of freedom, in Europe's intellectual history.

*New York University* A. William Salomone

PROGRESS IN THE AGE OF REASON, THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY TO THE PRESENT DAY. By *R. V. Sampson.* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1956. Pp. 259. $4.25.)

This examination of the traditions of the eighteenth century in Europe provides a detailed history, analysis, and critique of the belief in inevitable moral and social progress. The author is always aware that this belief owed much to the

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Greco-Christian tradition and to Renaissance humanism, but he concentrates upon its history beginning with Descartes and Newton and ending with the two competing heirs of the Enlightenment, revolutionary Marxism and liberal progressivism.

The first half of the book is concerned with those men of the Enlightenment who forged new psychologies and constructed utopias that would explain and promote the progress they desired for "sacred posterity." Sampson gives many an apt quotation from polemicists, philosophers, historians, and novelists, as he lays bare the sources and common elements of the gospel of progress. Much of the material is familiar, but the treatment is fresh. The author brings to his task more philosophic depth and sophistication than one usually finds in books on this subject. For instance, in the acute analyses of the *philosophes,* he employs a logical criticism that makes clear the ambiguities, paradoxes, and dilemmas embedded in their systems. This criticism is dispassionate, and the author concludes that although the men of the Enlightenment may have exaggerated the legitimate functions of the method upon which they relied, "the faith in reason, rightly applied, and critically held, is a worthy faith." Considering the fulminations of the current ha'penny reincarnations of Burke, such a statement comes as a welcome relief.

Sampson holds that Hume's work represents a watershed for those who saw inevitable progress in the future. The *Treatise* destroyed the *philosophes'* implicit reliance upon "Natural Law" and convinced many a thinker that "Reason was now Passion's slave." During the nineteenth century the two groups which continued in their search for unilinear progress were the Utilitarians and the Hegelians. The Utilitarians failed to gain a large following, owing to the social and economic results of the laissez faire they sponsored, and their theories depended upon too narrow a psychological base. There remained the Marxian synthesis erected upon Hegelian foundations. In the second half of the book, Sampson works out the contribution of Hegel to the Marxian philosophy of history and distinguishes those aspects of Marxism that still owed something to the Enlightenment and earlier ages. The chapter on "The Philosophy of History" in this section is worth reading even without reference to its uses for doctrines of progress. The critique of nineteenth- and twentieth-century ideas of progress is somewhat more severe in tone, but it remains objective. The author concludes that progress has no ontological status in history but that a limited theory of progress might be erected upon a rational ethic.

Among the studies of the idea of progress since Bury, this book is a worthy contender for the reader's interest. It is recommended to the serious student of philosophy and contemporary affairs, as well as to the historian.

*Michigan State University* STANLEY J. IDZERDA

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THE LIFE OF SIR JOHN ELIOT, 1592 TO 1632: STRUGGLE FOR PARLIAMENTARY FREEDOM. By *Harold Hulme.* (New York: New York University Press. 1957. Pp. 423. $6.75.)

Both as a biography of a famous man and as a history of events in the House of Commons from 1624 to 1629, this volume forms a welcome addition to early seventeenth-century studies and is sound and well balanced. Mr. Hulme makes extensive use of the manuscripts at Port Eliot, St. Germans, Cornwall, and of the many unpublished parliamentary diaries of the 1620's. His research, his careful sifting of evidence, and his judicious conclusions are admirable.

Sir John Eliot appears in these pages as a man of high character but not one of outstanding ability, as an idealist but not a person of profound spiritual depth, as a gifted orator but not a lucid thinker, as an influential member of the Commons but not a great leader of Parliament. He was intense, impulsive, and loquacious, too easily carried away by the emotion of the moment, by loyalty to an ideal, or perhaps on occasion (as Disraeli said of Gladstone) by the exuberance of his own verbosity. The Commons, seeking practical solutions for their problems, often turned from Eliot to more hard-headed leaders such as Sir Thomas Wentworth or Sir Edward Coke. Eliot was at his best in defending an ideal, such as the sanctity of parliamentary privilege, or in denouncing an evil, such as the misgovernment of Buckingham, but he was apt to exalt the one to too lofty a plane and to picture the other in terms so black as to be out of focus.

There was a good deal of confusion in Eliot's thinking. His confusion in dealing with economic issues was shared by most other members, but he was confused also by his constant devotion to two great loyalties, to the crown and to the House of Commons. Despite the evils that he saw about him, he clung to the belief that the king could do no wrong. He was able for some years to attack Buckingham and other ministers without condemning Charles, but after Buckingham's death this subterfuge became more difficult. There was confusion in his speeches also because he moved, slowly and reluctantly, from a supporter of the court to the position of a radical who was ready to go to great lengths in opposing the government. His devotion to parliamentary privilege, blinding him to other issues, led him to act as though that was the one great question between king and people. And he was always a difficult person with whom to deal. Hence Hulme concludes that Eliot was not as great a man as was once supposed and that the older estimate of him is no longer tenable. Yet there were moments, as Hulme shows, when Eliot's influence in the Commons was supreme. Idealism, courage, and willingness to suffer martyrdom are imponderables not easily measured.

In reviewing a book so full and so detailed, it is perhaps ungracious to suggest approaches and lines of inquiry the author did not attempt to follow; yet one or two come to mind. We are told of the greatness of Eliot's oratory, but there is no analysis of the attributes that made his speeches great. His activities as vice-

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admiral of Devon are followed in much detail, but there is no evaluation of his local standing and influence among his fellow country gentlemen. It is possible that a study of patronage at court—following the approach and ideas of Sir John Neale's Raleigh Lecture—might have helped to explain why Eliot turned against Buckingham. These, however, are minor criticisms of a valuable and scholarly book.

*University of Minnesota* DAVID HARRIS WILLSON

KING AND COMMONS 1660–1832. By *Betty Kemp.* (New York: St Martin's Press. 1957. Pp. 168. $4.50.)

Miss Kemp's conclusions are that from the Restoration to the Revolution there was a "separation of King and Commons"; that in the period between 1689 and 1716 legislation and practice established "a legal framework for the relations between King and Commons"; that from 1716 to 1783 a constitutional balance of power between the two was achieved; and that the period 1784–1832 was marked by the slow overturn of the balance against the king. She argues that two great conventions were largely responsible for the balance. The first, the septennial convention, which emanated from, though it was not intended by, the Septennial Act of 1716, "firmly established a constitutional idea that every parliament had a right to a life of seven years." This continuity of existence, lacking during the period of triennial parliaments, strengthened the Commons. The second convention, which "allowed a large number of members of parliament to . . . hold office under the crown," strengthened the executive at the expense of the Commons. This convention, though under more attack than the first, was regarded by many as essential for the cooperation between king and Commons without which government could not be carried on.

Between 1784 and 1832 the number of placemen in Commons was reduced, and the political influence of the crown outside the House declined to a point that made it difficult for the king to win general elections for his ministers. This more than offset the infringements of the septennial convention during this period, so that in 1832 the Commons had apparently emerged victorious over the king. The victory was, however, only apparent. The Reform Bill was "a step toward making the Commons, as well as the King, or rather the King's ministers, dependent on the electorate, a power not included in the eighteenth-century constitutional balance at all."

These ideas are not new, but they have never been thus abstracted. The abstraction is useful, but it has its weakness, for it sometimes makes an extremely complicated process seem too simple and too mechanical. Furthermore, Miss Kemp implies that the Commons were preoccupied with, and fully conscious of, the constitutional issues involved in their relationship with the king. She speaks of the Commons' beliefs, fears, and ambitions as though the House was a mono-

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lithic body; the interplay of factions and personalities and the private ambitions of individuals scarcely appear. For example, her statement that "the belief that the independence of the Commons was bound up with the Septennial Act was the chief reason for the failure of attempts to repeal it" fails to take into account the value to M.P.'s and proprietors of boroughs of a seven-year seat and (before 1784) the desires of the king. The absence of citations (there are less than two dozen) is frustrating and contributes to the abstract quality of a book that can, nevertheless, be read with profit.

*Yale University* BASIL D. HENNING

A HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING PEOPLES. Volume III, THE AGE OF REVOLUTION. By *Winston S. Churchill.* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company. 1957. Pp. xiv, 402. $6.00.)

IT is a great and even unique advantage for history, in a world of specialized and academic disciplines, that the work of its practitioners can occasionally be reinforced by so welcome and powerful an ally as Sir Winston Churchill. Possessing qualities which many of us lack, such as the gift for narrative and vivid characterization, in addition to contact with affairs, he keeps history alive in places we find difficult to reach, notably among makers of policy on the one hand and beginning readers on the other. He sets forth a kind of common core or common sense of his subject, to which others can bring qualifications or amplifications as they like.

The present volume embraces the years from 1689 to 1815. It is a period very much to the author's taste and full of men for whom he feels an affinity. His own zest for combat gives vigor to his portrayals of Marlborough and the elder Pitt. There are excellent sketches of William III, of various worthies under Anne and the first two Georges, of Hamilton and Jefferson, and of others. He makes sense of British parliamentary politics even in the dimmer decades; his accounts of military campaigns in Europe, America, India, and on the sea, notably the Trafalgar campaign, are done with a highlighting of the main issues and a sense of the rapid unfolding of only partly foreseeable events that we would expect from one who has had such decisions to make himself. With eight of twenty-five chapters devoted to America, the distinctive aim of the book, to write of the English-speaking peoples on two continents, is successfully carried out. Sir Winston is familiar with the work of American historians, he makes prudent use of the Beard thesis on the federal constitution, he follows Laprade in showing that the younger Pitt came to office as the king's man, and he knows the American studies on the origins of the War of 1812.

He perhaps overstresses pro-American feeling in Britain after 1775 and minimizes pro-French feeling in Britain after 1792. He gives a more favorable picture of Edmund Burke than most recent British and American historians of the period

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and attributes the loss of the thirteen colonies to the "obstinacy of George III." For a history of the English-speaking peoples there is surprisingly little on Ireland, which is scarcely mentioned except in connection with the Union. The famous undefended frontier between Canada and the United States is antedated. The author is no nostalgic Tory or neoconservative; he is well aware of the inequities of the eighteenth century. He is critical of opponents of the French Revolution (Louis XVI, like Charles I, "counted duplicity as a royal prerogative"), but he can make faulty generalizations about the French Terror, for surely it is not true of the French navy that its "officer class had been almost wiped out on the guillotine." Having lived through two British blockades, he falls into the trap of thinking that the British blockade in the time of Napoleon was an attempt to keep British goods out of Europe, though elsewhere, as in commenting on the Orders in Council, or the smuggling at Helgoland, he is of course aware of their true nature.

The book, as befits its author, is a history of events as seen and dealt with by men in high public office. Grand phenomena like the Industrial Revolution are known to be present but remain offstage. The story is one of action and decisions, of risks and dangers and responsibilities and gambles, of greatness and littleness of character, of personal frustrations and national triumphs. Majestic and inspirational flights of Churchillian oratory are not to be found here; the style is suited to the more sedate retrospection of history, but it is a style that easily rises to the magnitude of its subject and can in turn be colorful, grave, reflective, humorous, or exciting. It is always condensed, rapid, and readable. Indeed, it seems likely, and is to be hoped, that the many who buy the book will actually read it.

*Princeton University* R. R. Palmer

THE ANCIENT CONSTITUTION AND THE FEUDAL LAW: A STUDY OF ENGLISH HISTORICAL THOUGHT IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. By *J. G. A. Pocock*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1957. Pp. viii, 261. $5.50.)

Recently Herbert Butterfield repeated his conviction that "the history of historiography has utility for students of history," and readers of his *Whig Interpretation of History* and *Englishman and His History* will be happy to learn of the publication of a new book, this time by one of Butterfield's students, which seeks to demonstrate just how useful historiographical research can be. J. G. A. Pocock's *The Ancient Constitution* is unquestionably among the more important studies of this kind yet issued. While there is some overlapping with David Douglas' excellent *English Scholars* and Samuel Kliger's less satisfactory *The Goths in England,* Dr. Pocock's book substantially extends historiographical horizons into the early seventeenth century and offers some original insight into early eighteenth-century historical scholarship.

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The thesis offered by Pocock (his book is based upon a doctoral dissertation) is that the emphasis upon an ancient constitution did not come purely from the political ambitions of parliament but from the far-reaching influence of the Common Law on the English mind. This orientation, popularized by Coke (of whom Pocock shows rare understanding), survived only until the discovery of feudal law by Spelman and the resultant realization by some that there was actually a feudal continuity in English constitutional and historical development. There is a justifiably heavy emphasis upon feudal scholarship, but some conclusions seem to be overdrawn: there were sound Whigs, apart from the eccentric Levellers, who conceded the fact of the Norman conquest but still adhered to their concept of a permanent, indestructable heritage of Saxon liberties.

This is a study of great importance to medievalists interested in "the feudal revolution in English historiography," but perhaps *The Ancient Constitution* enjoys even greater significance for American students of the political employment of historical interpretations. The roots of the historical justification of revolution, be it in England in 1640 and 1688, or in Thomas Jefferson's *Summary View* in 1774, are most helpfully uncovered in Pocock's book.

Despite very real contributions, *The Ancient Constitution* has weaknesses. Stylistically it is frequently dull, difficult, and marred by lapses into antiquarian preciousness. Writing in virtually unexplored areas, Pocock is prone to offer misleadingly simple diagnoses where none may exist; it is too tempting to assume a clarity of thought on the part of seventeenth-century scholars when it was not present. Perhaps the remarkable learning and scholarship revealed by Pocock has led to an intimacy with his material that sometimes has deprived him of perspective and weakened his judgment. Certainly there would appear to be too many judgments and too little evidence marshaled in support of verdicts so definitely reached. This remains, however, a study distinguished for sustained originality of thought and thoroughness of scholarship.

*Library Company of Philadelphia* H. Trevor Colbourn

THE ROYAL AFRICAN COMPANY. By *K. G. Davies.* (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1957. Pp. ix, 390. $8.00.)

This history of the Royal African Company is primarily a study in English economic history and only secondarily a contribution to the history of Africa. The company's eighty-year-old history is told in fullest detail for the period in which it had its monopoly of trade in West Africa, 1672–1698. Much less detailed is the treatment of the company's problems from 1698 to 1713, during which time its debts grew, its competitors were most active, and a long war was fought with France. Only two or three pages deal with the period until 1752, when the company received compensation for the assets it transferred to a regulated company created by act of parliament two years earlier.

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Professor Davies has given us a work of first-rate significance for an understanding of both English economic history and African history in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Competence of a high order is manifest in this book, the chief sources of which are the archives of the Royal African Company in the Public Record Office. The author deals with the problems of financing a joint-stock company in the seventeenth century, obtaining the goods needed by those trading in Africa for slaves, gold, and ivory, transporting slaves to the West Indies, and getting payment for those slaves from planters who were receiving less and less for the sugar they produced.

It is the author's thesis that the Royal African Company was a failure because it did not succeed in its primary function of earning profits for its shareholders and creditors. But, he adds, the company's unrewarded achievements were far from negligible when one considers that between 1672 and 1713 "it exported goods to the value of £ 1½ million, dispatched 500 ships to Africa, delivered 100,000 slaves to the Plantations, imported 30,000 tons of sugar, coined more than half a million guineas, and built or rebuilt eight forts on the African coast."

Davies is at some pains to underscore the conclusions of recent writers that the slave trade was not the lucrative branch of commerce people once thought. He finds it one of the riskiest forms of trade in the eighteenth century. The risks constitute the story of the Royal African Company—inadequate capital, international war, commercial rivalry, the fluctuating price of sugar, the outbreak of disease on the Middle Passage that could in a few days wipe out the expected profits of a large investment, and the difficulty of getting reliable men to manage affairs in Africa.

*Yale University* HARRY R. RUDIN

LORD DERBY AND VICTORIAN CONSERVATISM. By *Wilbur Devereux Jones*. (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1956. Pp. xi, 367. $5.00.)

STUDENTS of the life and political career of Edward Stanley, fourteenth Earl of Derby, have hitherto had at their disposal the agreeable but outdated (1892) short biography by George Saintsbury (The Queen's Prime Ministers series) and the graceful essay by Algernon Cecil in his volume on the relations between Victoria and her prime ministers (1952). Dr. Jones's book now fills a gap by offering a full-scale modern study of the much neglected nineteenth-century Conservative leader, employing with advantage a large number of Derby letters and papers available (notably the British Museum collections of Disraeli, Peel, and Gladstone papers) as well as a great number of recent secondary sources. Indeed, the thoroughness of his documentation compensates to a degree for the absence from his book of material from the Knowsley collection, access to which, as he regretfully states in his introduction, could not be obtained. Derby's three ministries of 1852, 1858, and 1866 were never easy ones—he repeatedly suffered from the "intolerable

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and galling servitude," as he put it, of leading a minority government, and he had to organize and consolidate, when possible, a party which Bright once described as being "full of prejudices and selfishness and wanting in brains." A confirmed aristocrat, instinctively dedicated to the preservation of an established order of church and state, Derby never courted popularity, and his mordant wit repelled as often as his eloquence impressed. Yet, as the author shows, especially in his chapter "Derby Attends Democracy," his subject, whose touch as prime minister became the more sure in each successive trial, during two decades helped to set a pattern of adjustment and compromise for his party and to strengthen its appeal among "moderate, impartial, and well-educated men." His relations with Peel, and his long collaboration with Disraeli, intensely difficult at first yet always frank and loyal, are well described, as is the background of their 1867 reform legislation, which each termed a "leap in the dark."

Readers will find the style of this book sometimes heavy—as Derby wrote of his own translation of the *Iliad,* it cannot be called "spirited" in tone. It is nonetheless a valuable pioneering work, reflecting solid research and a devoted interest in a complex and important political figure.

*University of South Carolina* GEORGE CURRY

PARNELL AND HIS PARTY, 1880–90. By *Conor Cruise O'Brien.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1957. Pp. xii, 373. $7.20.)

As the title suggests, this is not another biography of Parnell but an essay in political history, in which the author analyzes in detail the complexities of organization and the activities of the Irish party of the 1880's. The result is a significant contribution to our understanding of nineteenth-century British politics.

Although his focus is necessarily on Parnell, the author wisely declines to assess the Irish leader's "ultimate motives and long-term intentions," which remain hidden today as they did in Parnell's lifetime, but the policy he pursued from 1881 to 1890 emerges clearly as one of conciliation. "Rational and unromantic," it was the logical response to the constant need to placate the widely divergent Irish groups and to direct them toward accepting home rule achieved through constitutional methods as the final settlement for Ireland. The story of the Irish party of the eighties is largely that of Parnell's efforts to gain and hold the support of elements ranging from the ex-Fenian group on the left to the Irish hierarchy on the right. Although their methods and aims were constitutional, Parnell and his party were often forced "to make a semi-revolutionary or conspiratorial impression," in order to hold the allegiance of the Irish voters and the support of the Irish-Americans. Parnell was "adept at the cape-work of the pseudo-revolutionary gesture." By 1885, he had molded the party into a disciplined political machine and had convinced even the Irish people that their best hope lay not in "traditional" methods of opposition but in support for their representatives

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at Westminster. It took superb political agility to deal with difficulties among the Irish and at the same time maneuver the party toward the settlement with Gladstone.

The successive challenges to Parnell's leadership served only to strengthen his position and the power of his party. Between 1886 and 1890 the party met successfully "the dangers of American defection and agrarian unrest, of liberal qualms and tory coercion, of calumny and forgery, of papal condemnation and landlord syndicates, and, finally, of tory overtures. The party was united; the leader's supremacy was unquestioned; the liberal alliance seemed secure, and the liberals themselves were in the ascendant in England." The author shows that there were structural weaknesses, which hastened the collapse after Parnell's fatal involvement with the O'Shea's became known to the public. Under Parnell, the old "whiggish" elements had been replaced by members of lower social standing, inferior in education, experience, and perhaps ability. They were dedicated to the idea of freedom for Ireland, but they could not provide new policies or leadership when the need arose. Finally, the alliance with the Liberals proved disastrous. Since the Liberals were committed to home rule, it seemed that their return to power meant success for the Irish cause. When the scandal of Parnell's relationship with Mrs. O'Shea collided with the nonconformist conscience of lower middle-class England and threatened to make the Irish party a liability to the Liberals, the party moved to sacrifice Parnell and preserve the all-important alliance. The Irish leader's refusal to resign precipitated the struggle that finally destroyed both Parnell and his party.

O'Brien's style is commendably clear and flexible on the whole, although some of the subject matter, exhaustively explored, does not lend itself gracefully to narrative interest. This book is for the reader familiar with the period and its problems; that reader will occasionally recognize that the author is somewhat less at home in English than in Irish political history, but the lapses are minor. A good bibliography is appended.

*University of Tennessee* GALEN BROEKER

THE HABSBURG EMPIRE: A STUDY IN INTEGRATION AND DISINTEGRATION. By *Robert A. Kann.* [Publication of the Center for Research on World Political Institutions of Princeton University.] (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1957. Pp. xii, 227. $5.00.)

DR. Kann analyzes briefly the political character of the Habsburg empire and clarifies "the conditions, processes and causes of its gradual integration and eventual disintegration" in this study, which begins with the years 1526–1527 and ends with the collapse of the empire in 1918. The author rightly points out that the monarchy always suffered from an imperfectly developed sense of community, in spite of the fact that prior to 1867 there existed strong consolidating factors—

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common historical traditions, the dynasty, the aristocracy, the army, the Catholic Church, the bureaucracy, and at least partial economic unity—that effectively counterbalanced the disintegrating elements. These centripetal forces were not strong enough, however, to withstand the impact of nineteenth-century nationalism. Before 1848 it was still possible to cherish the illusion that a strong Austrian empire could be maintained. Thereafter, particularly after 1867, an over-all solution of the nationality problem was utterly impossible, even in the Cisleithanian part of the monarchy, because the Magyars feared that national reforms would destroy Magyar dominance in Hungary. By then the "social, economic, political and cultural diversities" between the nationalities, "the conflict between administrative, historico-political and ethnic entities and the increasing attraction of political-national outside centers" had so badly poisoned national relationships that a long existence of the monarchy was impossible. Though World War I did not in itself destroy the monarchy, it contributed toward it, for a power as imperfectly amalgamated as the Habsburg empire was unable to withstand the consequences of complete defeat. Yet, as the author points out, the transmittal of the Habsburg civil service and educational system, the law codes, and much of the social and economic structure of the monarchy to German-Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and parts of Rumania, Yugoslavia, and Poland demonstrates that the amalgamation forces of the old monarchy had not become totally extinct by 1918.

Kann's volume is not a history of the Austrian empire, as are the excellent volumes by Hugo Hantsch (*Die Geschichte Österreich*) and Arthur J. May (*The Habsburg Monarchy 1867–1914*). Neither is it a detailed study of an isolated movement within the empire, such as Georg Franz's *Liberalismus: Die deutsch-liberale Bewegung in der habsburgischen Monarchie* or the author's *Multinational Empire*. Rather it is a case study of the political disintegration of the Habsburg monarchy, "an investigation of the very core issue of its existence and destruction." As such it makes a significant contribution to the understanding of the decay of the Habsburg empire—one well worthy of America's foremost authority on the Austrian nationality problem.

*University of Texas* R. John Rath

THE GERMAN IDEA OF FREEDOM: HISTORY OF A POLITICAL TRADITION. By *Leonard Krieger*. (Boston: Beacon Press. 1957. Pp. xii, 540. $7.50.)

This is a baffling and puzzling book. The subject, the German idea of freedom, is intriguing, interesting, and important. The fifty-eight pages of notes and references are testimony to the author's wide reading and thorough familiarity with both the source materials and secondary literature of German history and political philosophy. The main thesis of the book, on the whole a tenable one, is that the chronic weakness of liberalism in Germany was not a case of the

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triumph of conservatism in all crucial situations and epochs but resulted from a "peculiar German attitude toward liberty" that undermined its effectiveness from within itself. Both social and individual liberty in the German tradition of freedom were always given forms compatible with an authoritarian political order. "From the sixteenth century to the twentieth," writes Professor Krieger, "the political history of Germany had been dominated by the successive absorption of the various claims to human freedom piecemeal into the structure of monarchical government without undermining the independent authority of that government."

The net result of the book, however, does not live up to the expectations of the reader or to the aspirations of the author. It seems to this reviewer that there may be two reasons for this. The first is that the author has not solved satisfactorily the problem of historical record versus political and philosophical analysis. The first sentences of the preface announce: "This book is not designed to cover a section of history. It is designed, rather, to provide answers to a definite set of historical questions arising out of the 'German problem.'" On the other hand, the subtitle of the book is *History of a Political Tradition,* and in its scope it is practically a history of German political theory, certainly of German liberal political theory. The result is that instead of concentrating on issues and illustrating them by crucial examples of persons and events, the author takes up seriatim practically all the constitutional and liberal theorists from the sixteenth century to the period of the formation of the Bismarckian Reich. The well known and the obvious are presented with the same massive weight of evidence as the novel and the less obvious. The second reason for the ineffectiveness of the book is that the author apparently paid very little attention to the art of communication. The book is written in a solemn and ponderous style, with overly long and complicated sentences and too many indirect rather than direct forms of expression; much of it is just badly written. It brings to mind William James's remark that the character of one's style of expression is a reflection and indication of the character of one's thinking. Most readers will close the book long before they come to the end, and those who will struggle through to the bitter finish will put it down with a vague and inconclusive feeling of being not quite certain whether they really had followed the author all the way through. It is a pity, for writing the history and analysis of German liberalism is a job that still needs to be done.

*Queens College* KOPPEL S. PINSON

GERMAN RULE IN RUSSIA, 1941–1945: A STUDY OF OCCUPATION POLICIES. By *Alexander Dallin.* (New York: St Martin's Press. 1957. Pp. xx, 695. $10.00.)

IF any scholars remain who question the charge of utter incompetence that Dallin levels against the National Socialists, they have only to read his book. It is a compendium of stupidity. What a commentary on our century this is, that

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such small minds found so little to block their path to uncontrolled and irresponsible destructiveness! What they made of their "Revolution" has confirmed every dire prediction of the conservative camp: chaos, *bellum omnia contra omnes,* absolute moral and intellectual corruption, and bankruptcy. Dallin achieves his effect by a sober piling up of instance upon instance, so that one encounters the few examples of Nazi intelligence and insight as oases in the barren wastelands of the narrative. This is a long book. Yet in spite of its encyclopedic completeness, it does not give the impression of burying truths among trivia; rather it drives relentlessly home the logic of German defeat in Russia. Such logic was beyond the foggy minds at the head of the Third Reich. Hitler, having made the essential error of attacking Russia *because* he could not finish off Britain, compounded it endlessly by throwing away the opportunities the Stalinist regime had given any invader through its own oppressive system. Dallin wastes none of his pages in speculations about "what might have been" (one might say he has no illusions about either regime) but packs his book with meaty narrative. A tremendous research operation lies behind it, including the extensive use of informants and unpublished Nazi materials outside the Nuremberg documents.

The book is organized into four parts: "The Setting" (which includes the meager planning and the early phase of the occupation), "Peoples and Policies" (differentiating regions and potentates), "Problems and Practice" (the economic, manpower, and cultural aspects), and "Political Warfare" (the belated propaganda approach and the denouement of the European tragedy). The first and last parts are the easiest and most fascinating to read. The two central sections, while absolutely thorough, are somewhat repetitious and perhaps overly extensive, rather than tight and intensive. It is sometimes hard to keep the important "landmarks" in view (important conferences, decisions, agencies, and second-line decision makers). In view of all the detail that the author has had to leave out, the book is a remarkable achievement. Dallin not only has staked out the whole area for a generation of monographers but has made an intensive study of some of the subtopics, such as the role of Rosenberg, the German use of political warfare, and the rivalries of army, Foreign Office, and SS for power in the East. The book has excellent maps and a good index but, unfortunately, no bibliography.

*University of Nebraska* ROBERT KOEHL

DE OPKOMST VAN HET MODERNE DUITSLAND. Volume I, DROMEN, WORSTELINGEN, TEGENSLAGEN, 1806–1862; Volume II, DE OPLOSSING VAN BISMARCK, 1862–1871. By *Z. R. Dittrich.* [Historische Studies uitgegeven vanwege het Instituut voor Geschiedenis der Rijksuniversiteit te Utrecht, Numbers 8 and 9.] (Groningen: J. B. Wolters. 1956. Pp. x, 393; 351. Fl. 22.50 each.)

THIS is the most satisfactory treatment of the subject that has come to my at-

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tention since the second edition of Erich Brandenburg, *Die Reichsgründung,* in 1916. It is not a radical revision of the story. Dr. Dittrich fears that the demand for a complete reinterpretation of modern German history may result in "employing Beelzebub to drive out the Devil." He rejects specifically the tendency to find in nineteenth-century German history little more than the antecedents of the Nazi dictatorship. His chapter headings are fairly conventional: the Holy Roman Empire and its heritage, the years of calm, the springtime of the nations and the year of madness, the unquiet interlude, blood and iron, the North German Confederation, and the road to the Hall of Mirrors. He does not believe that the liberals could have solved the German problem in the Revolution of 1848 or in the 1860's. He believes that, in the conditions and circumstances of the time, the Bismarckian solution was the practical alternative to a long continuation of the *status quo.* Yet his interpretations and judgments are marked by a sturdy independence.

The bibliography shows the range of Dittrich's knowledge of the relevant literature in German, Dutch, French, and English. I miss in it my own book on the *Schleswig-Holstein Question;* C. W. Clark, *Franz Joseph and Bismarck before 1866;* R. H. Lord, *The Origins of the War of 1870;* Shanahan on the military reforms in Prussia and other monographs in the Columbia University Studies; W. O. Henderson, *The Zollverein;* and H. Rosenberg's analysis of the pamphlet literature of 1859–1866.

For the general student of German history, Dittrich's comments on German nationalism, on the Revolution of 1848, and the development in the 1850's should be of value. For the specialist, the most interesting and profitable part of the work is in the seventy pages of commentary on the historiography and of notes on specific problems about which scholars have differed. He agrees, for example, with Precht, Marcks, and Scharff against Valentin, Stadelmann, and Boogman that the great powers would not have tolerated the reorganization of Germany as projected by the Frankfort Parliament. "The most that the outside powers could have conceded to the Germans at that time," he believes, "was a sort of North German Confederation under Prussian leadership, within limits that in no way would have satisfied the nationalist enthusiasts for unity." The question may seem hypothetical, he admits, but it is necessary to discuss it, for it is basic in one's judgment of Bismarck and his creation of the German empire. "Those who believe that in 1848 (or later) Germany could have been made peacefully by the liberal bourgeoisie, can hardly see any positive values in Bismarck's achievement; unity through 'blood and iron' must appear to them as the degeneration of the liberal-national ideal, as a tragic moral lapse in history." It was not Bismarck, he suggests, who broke the "moral backbone" of the German liberals in the sense that he led them down the "slippery path of opportunism" to *Realpolitik;* that began in the experience of 1848 and continued through the 1850's.

It is in the spirit of *Real-* rather than of *Ideenpolitik* that Dittrich sums up his

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appraisal of Bismarck. The unique place that the Prussian statesman took in his time was due not only to his own capacity but also to the concatenation of circumstances. In the use of deceit and force, in his amoral view of politics, he differed little from Cavour and other contemporary statesmen, and his sense of responsibility was at least as strong as theirs. The criticism that he created the German empire in ways that were the antithesis of the spirit of the age goes too far, yet it remains true that, for the German people, it has been a tragedy that the statesman of genius who solved the age-old problem of German weakness and disunity was not "a prophetic state-builder."

*University of Minnesota* LAWRENCE D. STEEFEL

ODRODZENIE W POLSCE; MATERIAŁY SESJI NAUKOWEJ PAN 25–30 PAŹDZIERNIKA 1953 ROKU. Tom II, Parts 1 and 2, HISTORIA NAUKI; Tom IV, HISTORIA LITERATURY. (Warsaw: State Publishing Institute. 1956. Pp. 457; 441; 557. Zł 114.50 the set; zł 66.20.)

IN October, 1953, there took place under the auspices of the Polish Academy of Sciences a six-day conference on the "Renaissance in Poland," which was the consummation of long preparatory work with a view to providing a "Marxist interpretation of the Renaissance period." The conference was divided into five sections, on history, history of science, history of language, history of literature, and history of art. The volumes under review consist of the papers, as well as the discussion, presented in the second and fourth sections. We are told that these papers were "enlarged" and even "fundamentally reworked" during the many meetings and discussions preceding the conference, and yet about half of them do not produce an impression of having been written from a purely Marxist standpoint.

The volume (in two parts) on the history of Polish science in the Renaissance contains fifteen papers. It opens inauspiciously with a Leninist-Stalinist tract on the social background of Polish science in the age of Renaissance, written by the late Zygmunt Modzelewski, one of the leading Polish Communists and a former Polish foreign minister. The next paper, however, fortunately provides an antidote. It is a solid and pioneering study—if somewhat overabounding in names and details—on the development of Polish science in the Renaissance by a leading authority on Polish intellectual history, Henryk Barycz. After sketching the main lines of this development and describing the organization of science and intellectual life and the position of scientists in the Polish Renaissance society, Barycz recounts achievements in the fields of classical philology, oriental studies, history, economics, law, political theory, pedagogy, philosophy, mathematics, astronomy, geography, botany, zoology, mineralogy, medicine, agriculture, and technology. Some of these subjects are dealt with in separate papers: Ryszard Gansiniec dwells on the contributions of Silesian scholars and writers; Stanisław Herbst briefly

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surveys the beginnings of historical vision of reality in science and art; Jan Pazdur describes technical progress; Bogdan Suchodolski analyzes pedagogical thought; Konstanty Grzybowski writes on law and its class base; Stanisław Szpilczyński, in a truly pioneering study, traces the development of the Polish Renaissance medical thought; Bolesław Olszewicz does the same for geography; and Aleksander Birkenmajer discourses on the University of Kraków as an international center of astronomical studies at the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

As could be expected, much time was devoted at the conference to the two central figures of the Polish Renaissance, Copernicus and Frycz Modrzewski. Roman Ingarden concludes his paper on "Copernicus and the Question of Objectivity of Scientific Laws" by saying that Copernicus, even though "he was not yet fully a materialist, was closer to materialism than all his contemporaries and many of his successors. This makes him a great precursor of our times." The paper gave rise to a long and heated polemical exchange between Birkenmajer and Ingarden. Bogusław Leśnodorski inquires into some elements of Copernicus' assumptions. In a paper replete with references to Engels, Łukasz Kurdybacha expatiates upon the social role of science and scientists in the political theory of Frycz Modrzewski. The analysis of Modrzewski's work also constitutes the bulk of the overlong study by Kazimierz Dobrowolski on the methodology of Polish science in the Renaissance, and Waldemar Voisé examines the second book, *De legibus,* of Modrzewski's *De republica emendanda.*

The volume on the history of the Polish Renaissance literature consists of seven papers. It begins appropriately with a homage to the literary giant of the period, a "living poet," Kochanowski, rendered by the foremost historian of Polish literature, Julian Krzyżanowski. Krzyżanowski also contributes a longer essay on the Polish prose of the sixteenth century. Acclaimed as the main achievement of the section from the point of view of Marxist analysis was Kazimierz Budzyk's "Ideologico-Artistic Values of the Polish Renaissance Literature." Extensive surveys of Polish and Polish-Latin Renaissance poetry are given by Jerzy Ziomek and Bronisław Nadolski respectively, and Julian Lewański expatiates upon popular drama and theater. The volume is closed by Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa's "The Role of Polish Printing in the Age of Renaissance."

As is so often the case with collective works, the quality of the papers is very uneven, especially in the first volume. At least half of these papers are much too long—a defect only too common in Polish writing today. Some of them give the impression of having been hastily written. Yet, all in all, these two volumes advance considerably our knowledge of the Polish Renaissance.

*Harvard University* Zygmunt J. Gasiorowski

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HISTORIA PAŃSTWA I PRAWA POLSKI DO ROKU 1795 [History of Government and Law in Poland to 1795]. Edited by *Juliusz Bardach*. Volume I, DO POŁOWY XV WIEKU [To the Middle of the Fifteenth Century]. By *Juliusz Bardach*. Volume II, OD POŁOWY XV WIEKU DO R. 1795. [From the Middle of the Fifteenth Century to 1795]. By *Zdzisław Kaczmarczyk* and *Bogusław Leśnodorski*. [Published under the auspices of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Institute of History.] (Warsaw: State Publishing House for Scholarly Works. 1957. Pp. 593; 550.)

THIS collective work is similar in many respects to the general survey of Polish history to the end of the eighteenth century (see review in *AHR*, LXII [Oct., 1956], 139–41). Limited to institutional and legal history, this new book has been written by three authors who were among the main contributors to the earlier, more comprehensive symposium. Again the final publication, by the same state institution, was preceded by a preliminary draft submitted to long discussions. Again there are to follow volumes dealing in a much more detailed way with the subsequent periods of history up to 1939. Again, and this is most important, the method is that of historical materialism, common, as is emphasized in the preface, "to all social sciences."

There are, on the other hand, some differences. Stalin no longer appears among the "classics" of Marxist historiography or even in the index, and the criticism of "bourgeois" scholars who have worked in the same field is this time less violent. It is simply stressed from the outset that the old "constitutional history of Poland" treated that field in isolation from the social and economic conditions, did not include private and penal law, and did not consider the past of the western territories of present-day Poland. The first point is a great exaggeration, at least as far as concerns the leading representatives, practically the founders, of Polish constitutional history writing, O. Balzer and St. Kutrzeba. The second statement is correct, but it is rather doubtful whether the presentation of the state's constitutional development has become clearer by being interrupted time and again with discussions of private law and judiciary procedure. As to the third point, conditions in Poland's western borderlands, especially in Silesia, have never been neglected for the time that these lands were part of the Polish state. To include them during the periods when they were outside Poland's political boundaries is a most valuable addition, which can, however, hardly compensate for the very inadequate treatment of the whole eastern part of the old commonwealth, now annexed by the Soviet Union. Whenever these eastern problems, including the important issues of federalism and the reception of Polish law and institutions by the Lithuanian and Ruthenian lands, are briefly touched, the Russian-inspired misinterpretations of the earlier symposium are repeated and scarcely any new information is added.

This is, of course, understandable, since in spite of the improvement in Poland's situation during the last year the contributors still had to follow the

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party line, not only in their philosophy of history but also in the treatment of Polish-Russian relations and even in matters of periodization. It is true, however, that in contradistinction to the survey of 1955 they could, in 1957, recognize the date of the third and total partition of 1795, and not the much less important date of 1764, as the decisive turning point in all spheres of Polish history, severely condemn the partitions in the light of international law, and admit the "full co-responsibility" of Russia.

Finally, it must be said that this Marxist outline of Poland's constitutional history is the first to give detailed references to the source material. The independent, non-Marxist reader, while disagreeing with many interpretations and judgments, will discover in these pages many valuable data, which did not previously receive sufficient attention or at least were not integrated in any general synthesis.

*Fordham University* O. Halecki

STUDIA I MATERIAŁY Z DZIEJÓW NAUKI POLSKIEJ [Studies and Materials on the History of Polish Learning and Science]. Volume IV. [Polish Academy of Sciences, Committee on the History of Learning.] (Warsaw: State Publishing House for Scholarly Works. 1956. Pp. 521. Zł 52.)

The Historical Committee of the revised Polish Academy of Sciences began, in 1953, publication of a series of volumes devoted to problems of Polish science during the Enlightenment, of which Professor Bogdan Suchodolski is the principal editor. A quarterly of the history of science and technics has been established as an additional outlet in this broadening field. Between the two organs the subject should get adequate coverage. The present volume, fourth in the series, contains eleven substantial articles, two shorter notes containing unpublished documentary material, nine detailed reviews, and one hundred pages listing bibliographical items of Polish publications from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries relating to geography and mathematics.

The introductory article, on the classification of the sciences, by B. M. Kidrow, covers the subject in a most comprehensive fashion. It is based on assumptions of dialectical materialism as laid down by Marx and Engels, the latter of whom, "though no specialist in the natural sciences, was nevertheless able, by the telescope of the dialectical method, to perceive with great precision in the midst of the infinite possibilities of scientific progress, the general line of development of contemporary natural science." The classification finally offered appears to be very close to that offered by Averroës in the twelfth century, beginning with dialectics, with which, methodologically at least, Aristotle also began, and ending with psychology.

Several very informative articles follow: Henryk Jost on mining in the Tatra mountains from the fifteenth century to the First World War, Wł. Bratkowski

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on the history of textile technology, and R. S. Bugay on the uses made of several hot and mineral springs in Poland by physicians from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. Three of these doctors, Oczko (d. 1600), Syxt (d. 1635), and Petrycy (d. ca. 1650) seem to have been acutely aware of the beneficial effects of the springs for a number of diseases. A certain philosopher, Biernat of Lublin (fl. 1525–1540) seems, according to Jan Malarczyk, to have combined Neoplatonism with antipapalism, bourgeois antifeudalism, and antischolasticism. These antagonisms justify the author in calling Biernat progressive. K. Opałek surveys the status of research on the science of the Polish Enlightenment with no little satisfaction. The list of published titles and projects undertaken at the direction of the Academy of Sciences is impressive. The study by L. Szyfman on the natural and philosophical ideas of Jędrzej Śniadecki illustrates some of the difficulties inherent in directed research. Śniadecki was a philosophically minded biologist (d. 1838) whose theories of the origin of organic life were close to those of Lamarck, but in some matters he had regrettable recourse to an idealistic concept of a "primal force." There are also other valuable factual studies on the history of the Technical Institute at Kraków and on the beginnings of cement manufacture in Poland.

It should be pointed out that, with several exceptions, the authors of these careful and detailed studies seem to feel some compulsion to avoid giving due attention to the Western connections of all learned Poles in the centuries of the Enlightenment. Such Poles were in steady correspondence with French and German scholars, and books from France and Germany were available to them. Many ideas presented here as new or novel were common coin in the West, and the Polish scholars and scientists were not ignorant of that fact. At some points in these papers the informed reader can supply the missing Western connection, but it would have been reassuring if a fuller and therefore truer picture had been presented by the authors.

*University of Colorado* S. Harrison Thomson

A HISTORY OF HUNGARY, 1929–1945. Parts I and II. By *C. A. Macartney*. New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1956; 1957. Pp. xvi, 493; 519. $20.00 the set.)

THE HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION: THE STORY OF THE OCTOBER UPRISING AS RECORDED IN DOCUMENTS, DISPATCHES, EYE-WITNESS ACCOUNTS, AND WORLD-WIDE REACTIONS. Edited by *Melvin J. Lasky*. [A White Book.] (New York: Frederick A. Praeger for the Congress for Cultural Freedom. 1957. Pp. 318. $5.00.)

Although Trianon Hungary was only slightly larger than the state of Maine, the most respected living historian of Hungary has seen fit to devote nearly a thousand pages to about fifteen years of its political and diplomatic history. For

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the final year alone some three hundred pages confront the reader. Only an occasional paragraph deals with economic conditions or developments, and currents in culture are wholly neglected, which is the more regrettable because of the initiative displayed by Hungarian men of letters in touching off the sanguinary explosions of 1956.

Formidable, not to say forbidding, though the book is in bulk, Professor Macartney sets forth his findings with lucidity and literary effectiveness—seldom is there a dull page. By industrious combing of the press and of private papers entrusted to his care and effective use of his unrivaled opportunities for personal conversations with leading actors on the Hungarian stage or near it, he has enlarged and deepened the outlines of history already known. Where trustworthy evidence thins out, Macartney adopts a tentative posture, claiming no infallibility for his assessments of the shifting sands of public sentiment. Appendixes carry both revisions of the narrative necessitated by recent revelations and notes on the bothersome riddle of place names. It is reasonably certain that secrets still locked in the archives of foreign governments will compel further refinements in judgments on diplomacy, but that is the common experience of adventures in contemporary history.

Beginning with a succinct survey of the Hungarian heritage and the antecedents of Trianon, Macartney passes lightly over the 1920's, remarks upon the ravages of the great depression and their political implications, and traces the ebb and flow of domestic and international politics until the engulfment of Hungary in the Hitlerian expansionist programs. Fresh insights are presented on the broad course of European diplomacy, more particularly as it had bearing upon southeastern Europe, as seen from the threshold of Budapest. Then follow the tossings and heavings of Hungary in the Second World War, the calamitous military reverses at the hands of the Soviets, efforts of Hungarian emissaries to arrange for a separate peace (students of the diplomacy of the United States will find interesting snippets here), the Nazi occupation in March, 1944, the heartless enormities inflicted upon Jewry, and Regent Horthy's badly prepared attempt to arrange an armistice with the enemies of the Axis.

Five central themes are illuminated: the deep-seated resentment over the Treaty of Trianon shared by virtually all Hungarians regardless of social status and the urge to right the intolerable territorial wrongs in that document, which Macartney himself describes as "savage"; the strong anti-Bolshevik convictions, nourished by grim memories of the Communist regime of 1919; Nazi penetration of the "Sprat among the Whales"; the division of mind in the Hungarian public leadership during World War II, with an optimistic faction steadily reckoning upon the western Allies to save the country from external perils; the rather swift envelopment of Hungary by Soviet armies; and the subsequent rejoicings ordered in Budapest over "the end of a world." Macartney has been singularly successful in portraying Hungarian politicians, who have hitherto seemed somewhat unreal,

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as flesh and blood beings—and a vast gallery he presents, without denigration or inflation.

In the nature of a historical bridge between Macartney and the Hungary of 1957 is the introduction to the second work under notice, prepared by Professor Hugh Seton-Watson of the University of London. This sensitive and understanding sketch appraises the revolution of 1956 as "a rising of the workers against exploitation, of the intellectuals against thought-control, and of the whole nation against the Soviet imperialists." It concludes on the note that "the Hungarian Revolution may prove to have been Bolshevism's 1905." Suggestive parallelisms and contrasts are drawn between the upheavals of 1956 and of 1848–1849. The volume contains a rich harvest of original materials depicting the desperate heroism of the insurgents, the ruthless suppression by the Soviet mailed fist, and the immediate aftermath of the revolts. The Hungarian reports, official and private, and accounts by witnesses on the spot, mainly Britons and Americans, enable the reader to observe vicariously "a revolution and a war with a thousand eyes." The high drama of the time has been preserved not only in the vivid prose but in a selection of superb photographs. Interpretations of the revolution have been accumulated from both sides of the Iron Curtain.

Whereas the magisterial work by Macartney contains a fine, working index, *The Hungarian Revolution,* alas, has none. Both books, however, are indispensable for anyone concerned with recent and contemporary history, and each in its own way will have enduring value.

*University of Rochester* ARTHUR J. MAY

LENINISM. By *Alfred G. Meyer.*[Russian Research Center Studies, Number 26.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1957. Pp. 324. $5.50.)

STRANGELY enough, this is the first systematic and scholarly study of the ideas of the man who is perhaps the most influential figure in twentieth-century history. Why have we had to wait until now for such a book? One of the reasons, no doubt, is that Lenin's writings abound in so many contradictions and ambiguities that it is often difficult or impossible to determine what he really thought. Furthermore, he frequently made radical shifts in points of view, and sometimes deliberately misrepresented his beliefs for tactical reasons. Only those who have tried to find their way through the jungle of Lenin's books, articles, speeches, and letters can fully appreciate the brilliance of Mr. Meyer's accomplishment. He has successfully picked out the most important aspects of Leninism and has summarized them with clarity and perception. He has not made the mistake of presenting Lenin as a more systematic thinker than he really was, nor has he fallen into the opposite error of concluding that Lenin's contradictions classify him as no thinker at all.

The organization of the book is partly topical, partly chronological. Part I

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deals with the Communist party, which the author correctly describes as "Lenin's most conspicuous contribution to twentieth-century politics." Part II covers the development of Lenin's other ideas up to the Bolshevik seizure of power, showing how he adapted (or distorted) Marxism to fit Russian conditions. Part III, on "Leninism in Power," outlines the changes that occurred in Lenin's point of view after he rose from revolutionary outlaw to dictatorial ruler. Part IV summarizes Lenin's theory of imperialism, which the author considers to be "the most interesting, challenging, and lasting part of Lenin's work."

The chief faults of the book result from the author's deliberate decision to sacrifice completeness for brevity. For example, he has chosen to omit a discussion of Lenin's philosophical writings (such as *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*) on the grounds that "the impact of philosophical beliefs and attitudes on policy in the Leninist movement has been of no more than marginal importance." Similarly, while Meyer has emphasized the influence of Marxism on Leninism, he has said precious little about the effect on Lenin of the traditions of the Russian revolutionary movement or of the Russian environment in which he lived. Many will disagree with the author's statement that "a knowledge of nineteenth-century Russian social thought is not one of the essential preconditions for an understanding of Leninism."

Perhaps the least satisfactory part of the book is the all too brief chapter on nationalism. Meyer apparently felt that this aspect of Leninism did not require thorough treatment since it has already been adequately analyzed by other writers. We should feel grateful to any author who recognizes the value of brevity, but in this case the writer's insights are so valuable that one cannot help wanting them on all facets of Lenin's thought.

Criticisms aside, this is an excellent volume, which every student of Russian history, Marxism, and the Communist movement will want to read. It is a book that needed to be written, and it firmly establishes the author as an authority on the subject.

*University of Virginia* THOMAS HAMMOND

SOVIET RUSSIA AND THE EAST, 1920–1927: A DOCUMENTARY SURVEY. By *Xenia Joukoff Eudin* and *Robert C. North*. [The Hoover Library on War, Revolution, and Peace Publication Number 25.] (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1957. Pp. xviii, 478. $10.00.)

SOVIET RUSSIA AND THE WEST, 1920–1927: A DOCUMENTARY SURVEY. By *Xenia Joukoff Eudin* and *Harold H. Fisher*. In collaboration with *Rosemary Brown Jones*. [The Hoover Library on War, Revolution, and Peace Publication Number 26.] (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1957. Pp. xxxvii, 450. $10.00.)

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THESE volumes continue the excellent tradition begun by the publication in 1927 of the late Frank A. Golder's *Documents on Russian History, 1914–1917.* The preparation of a volume of documents is an immensely difficult, though tremendously valuable, enterprise. The task of providing fresh illumination on the international relations of Soviet Russia is peculiarly difficult, for it would be idle to repeat the publication of English translations of the text of treaties and diplomatic memoranda already so admirably done in other works, notably in *Soviet Documents on Foreign Policy,* edited by Jane Degras for the Royal Institute of International Affairs.

The author-editors of the present volumes have successfully avoided the pitfall of such repetition and have concentrated their attention on selecting from the mass of available material representative statements of Soviet reaction to international events in the years 1920–1927 and official explanations, both to the world and to their own people, of the bases for their own policies. The bulk of the documents has been excerpted from speeches, articles, resolutions, and the like. Naturally, such materials in themselves cannot supply the true explanations for positions taken by the Soviet government and the Comintern. It has therefore been deemed necessary to provide extensive introductions to the groups of documents into which these volumes are subdivided. Unfortunately, the author-editors have in this respect been too conscientious, with the result that the weight of the volumes is shifted from the documents to the explanatory text, which in *Soviet Russia and the West* consumes three eighths, in *Soviet Russia and the East,* one half, of the pages. In fact, in most cases, the documents are reduced to the status of expanded footnotes, illustrating but adding nothing essential to the summaries in the introductions.

Both companion volumes set as their goal the illumination of Soviet foreign policy. *Soviet Russia and the West,* which bases its chronological subdivisions on principal stages of domestic development and on major changes in the world situation, is on the whole successful in attaining its objective. Better use of Comintern materials might have made some points clearer, such as the striking differences between Soviet policy in 1920 and in 1921. *Soviet Russia and the East,* on the other hand, tends to deteriorate into an effort at an encyclopedic record of the formation of Communist organizations in the several parts of Asia. Interest is centered not on the over-all framework of Russian and world developments but on the course of events in particular localities, and the connective thread of Soviet policy objectives—itself not a constant—is thus lost.

In a study of Soviet foreign policy as a whole, the separation into West and East is inherently artificial, a fact attested by the frequent cross references from one volume to the other. It would doubtless have been better to combine these volumes into one, or at least to have made the separation on the basis of chronology and changing objectives rather than on the accidents of geography. Nevertheless, these volumes may well serve useful purposes. A feature of great potential value

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is the wealth of footnotes indicating where further material, in English or in Russian, may most conveniently be found.

*Brooklyn College* JESSE D. CLARKSON

## Near Eastern History

LEBANON IN HISTORY FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT. By *Philip K. Hitti.* (New York: St Martin's Press. 1957. Pp. xix, 548. $9.00.)

WRITTEN as a companion piece to the author's *History of Syria including Lebanon and Palestine* (New York, 1951), this volume encompasses the historical process of man in that small Middle Eastern land where West meets East, the desert culture blends with that of the Mediterranean, and the nomads of the seas and the sands have mingled through countless ages and civilizations. Lebanon remains a paradox with the Lebanon and anti-Lebanon mountains cleaving the state so sharply and diversely that one may wonder if it is not these divisive characteristics that unite the state, give reality to Lebanese nationalism, and keep loyalties for the homeland glowing in the hearts of Lebanese, no matter to what far corner of the earth they may have wandered.

Professor Hitti presents the story from early paleolithic times to the atomic age. The significant contribution begins on page 357, with the Ottoman conquest of the Levant. Prior to that point, the author draws almost exclusively from his *History of Syria,* which considered the same period (to 1517) in 658 pages. In the later chapters, Hitti reviews most admirably the incidents and progress of his native land in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries. The reader encounters the Ma'ns and the Shihabs, views Ahmad al-Jazzar of Acre in the local setting, and visits Bashir al-Shihab II in his wondrous palace, Bayt al-Din. The impact of the West in the modern age neatly precedes a chapter entitled "Economic and Social Upheavals," wherein the Arabs of Beirut and its environs are introduced to concepts embodied in the words fatherland, patriotism, nationalism, nation, independence, freedom, human rights, and democracy. Many, however, will be disappointed to find the period since the outbreak of World War II treated most summarily in only thirteen pages.

Unquestionably, Lebanese officialdom and all patriots will discover Hitti's enthusiastic panegyric pleasant and satisfying reading. Lebanese contributions to the stream of world and Western civilizations are not minimized, although it would be unfair to contend that their importance has been exaggerated. Syrian nationalists in Syria and within Lebanon itself will condemn the book as an intentional and considered effort to perpetuate the Western policy of dividing Syria and the Arab Middle East. Hitti's mature scholarship, however, demonstrates uncontestably that Lebanon, through the centuries and millennia of her

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history, has enjoyed under various names an illustrious and separate existence so repeatedly that one may suspect that such a condition is more normal than otherwise. Although certain passages are hard reading and the diacritical marks and proper names are many, the volume will be exceedingly useful as a reference for students seeking succinct compendia of the numerous human dramas enacted on the stage now called Lebanon.

*Ohio State University* SYDNEY NETTLETON FISHER

ISLAMIC SOCIETY AND THE WEST: A STUDY OF THE IMPACT OF WESTERN CIVILIZATION ON MOSLEM CULTURE IN THE NEAR EAST. Volume I, ISLAMIC SOCIETY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY, Part II. By *H. A. R. Gibb* and *Harold Bowen*. [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1957. Pp. 285. $5.60.)

ISLAM AND THE WEST: PROCEEDINGS OF THE HARVARD SUMMER SCHOOL CONFERENCE ON THE MIDDLE EAST, JULY 25–27, 1955. Edited by *Richard N. Frye*. (The Hague: Mouton & Co.; distrib. by Gregory Lounz, New York. 1956. Pp. 215.)

IN the course of the last three centuries, as the Ottoman empire was less and less able to prevent the political, economic, and intellectual penetration of the heart of the Moslem world by the Christian West, Moslems gradually replaced their superior indifference to Europe with inner questioning. The questions raised are still burning ones. These two volumes are devoted to an examination of the Western question in the Moslem area, primarily in the Near East.

Gibb and Bowen, with the volume here reviewed, complete their survey of the condition of the Ottoman empire in the middle of the eighteenth century, undertaken as the first part of a projected treatment of the Near Eastern Moslem reaction to the West. The authors have utilized a great mass of published sources and secondary works. Everyone working in Ottoman and related studies will find the book, like Part I, an indispensable reference work.

The general historian is certain to profit from the authors' remarks on the nature of Ottoman intellectual stagnation and from their observations on the position of the non-Moslems within the empire. In addition, the book contains the best available treatment of that important, but poorly understood, segment of Near Eastern society, the "sheikly aristocracy." I question the authors' apparent conclusion that the class lost its power in the nineteenth century. The class was at least as important as any other in Arab politics during the 1920's and 1930's, and its younger representatives are still important, though nowadays they are quite likely to be espousing some variety of "socialism" or integral nationalism.

The authors of *Islam and the West* had as a task the consideration of the

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"question . . . whether there is at present or foreseeable in the future a new era or renaissance in the Islamic world." Niyazi Berkes gives a clear treatment of the early Turkish reaction to the West and correctly states that "the Kemalist revolution . . . was a logical consequence of the course of events taking place over the preceding two centuries." Dankwart Rustow shows how Turkish politics forced Kemal to adopt secularism and how politics have forced some of Kemal's successors to make certain concessions to Islam. Howard Reed furnishes a thorough survey of the survival and revival of Islam in Turkey. Richard Frye emphasizes the distinctness and separateness of Iran within the Moslem world and the rejection of Islam by the Persian Westernizers.

G. E. von Grunebaum, in a paper that concentrates on the Arabs, describes the conflict created in the Moslem mind by nationalism, which challenges the older concept of the Islamic union. He might have pointed out, however, that the conflict has been lessened among the Arabs by the fact that Moslem Arab theorists have been able to base Arab nationalism squarely on Islam, while Christian Arab thinkers have succeeded in formulating a secularized version of the same theory. He also describes the inner tension created by the conflict of the need to reform with the traditional view that Islam is perfect and needs no revision. Kenneth Cragg surveys Egyptian modernism since Muhammad 'Abduh. His conclusions that "Arab modernism . . . has not 'intended' any radical intellectual examination of Islam" and that the "intention" of Arab modernism is the demonstration "that Islam is adequate to the needs and demands of the present day" are certainly correct. He fails, however, to take note of the passionate defense of the traditional Moslem view that Islam is the best of all religions and civilizations, which appears in practically all Arab Moslem modernists from 'Abduh to Ahmad Amin. Osman Amin's paper is a clear exposition of the ideas of the greatest of all Arab modernists, Muhammad 'Abduh. The paper by Zafrullah Khan is a good example of Moslem modernism.

*University of Illinois* C. Ernest Dawn

THE MIDDLE EAST, OIL AND THE GREAT POWERS. By *Benjamin Shwadran.* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1955. Pp. xii, 500.)

This regional study of Middle Eastern oil follows by a year Stephen H. Longrigg's *Oil in the Middle East,* which it supplements and complements. Shwadran analyzes local conditions and international competition attending the quest for concessions, unravels the commercial rivalries and cooperation of the international petroleum companies, and, withal, makes perceptive observations about the repercussions of oil development on the peoples and governments of the Middle East. In addition to a brief introductory chapter and a concluding regional analysis, the book consists of five sections, each treating a country or subregion; Iran receives more than two fifths of the space, Iraq and Saudi Arabia each one

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fifth, and the Persian Gulf British protectorates and the Mediterranean area almost a fifth. Although the historical background is ample, the author quite legitimately emphasizes the decade after World War II.

Unlike Longrigg, whose book has something of a company orientation, Shwadran shows a healthy skepticism of company practices, which has made him inquisitive about profits, rates of amortization, and similar factors essential to proper evaluation of the record of the companies. He lays less stress on the physical, political, and economic risks than Longrigg but is not unmindful of them.

We are just beginning seriously to assess the impact of petroleum development on the economic and social conditions of the Middle Eastern peoples and the political fortunes of their governments. Although Shwadran calls attention to the dangers inherent in rapidly accelerated social change when it outpaces the capacity for psychological adjustment and institutional adaptation, he also excoriates those Middle Eastern governments and oil companies that have not utilized the full potential from oil development for ameliorating quickly the unsatisfactory conditions of long standing. He writes: "The oil resources have been swallowed up by the companies and squandered by most of the rulers and governments of the area. The Middle East—with the exception of Turkey and Israel—is being weakened socially; it is politically unstable and economically backward." The author's inference—that oil development is the taproot from which all Middle Eastern troubles have sprouted—is the kind of oversimplification that he usually avoids.

Although massive, the research was confined to printed materials. Thus there is still need to correct details, fill in gaps, and adjust interpretations on the basis of unpublished archival records, the papers of diplomats and others, and company records. Two cases in point among a number noted by this reviewer are Shwadran's unawareness of the geological survey by the Standard Oil Company of New York in Palestine in the 1920's and his contradictory statements about the validity of the Mesopotamian concession allegedly obtained by the Turkish Petroleum Company in 1914.

The seven-page critical note together with the impressive bibliography it introduces are perhaps the best brief guide available to the printed literature, notwithstanding a few curious omissions. On balance, the book is a notable addition to the literature and may well be for years the standard monograph on the subject.

*Pennsylvania State University* JOHN A. DENOVO

## Far Eastern History

CHINESE THOUGHT AND INSTITUTIONS. Edited by *John K. Fairbank*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1957. Pp. xiii, 438. $8.50.)

IN this volume, thirteen well-known scholars on China discuss various facets of the interplay between ideas (primarily Confucian ideas) and political and social

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institutions in Chinese history. In other words, they present case examples of the impingement of Confucian ideology on political and social behavior. Following the editor's excellent introduction and an interesting essay by Benjamin Schwartz discussing the study of Chinese intellectual history, Wolfram Eberhard writes on the political purposes to which astronomy was put during the Han dynasty; Arthur F. Wright on how the founder of the Sui dynasty (581–604) used Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism as ideological justifications for his rule; James T. C. Liu on the political reforms of the statesman Fan Chung-yen (989–1052); Charles O. Hucker on the Tung-lin reform movement of the early seventeenth century; W. T. de Bary on Huang Tsung-hsi's famous political treatise, *A Plan for the Prince* (1662); John K. Fairbank on the rise and decline of joint Sino-Western political institutions during the nineteenth century; E. A. Kracke, Jr., on the regional functioning of the examination system; C. K. Yang on the relationship between Confucianism and Chinese popular religions; Lien-sheng Yang on the concept of "reciprocity" in Chinese social history; Hellmut Wilhelm on the political factors underlying the rise of *fu* poetry in Han times; Joseph R. Levenson on the amateur ideal among painters of the Ming and early Ch'ing periods; and T'ung-tsu Ch'ü on the ideology of Chinese class structure.

As in most symposia, there is considerable discrepancy among individual papers in this volume: some stimulate and enlighten, whereas others tread relatively well-worn ground. Taking the book as a whole, this reviewer's criticism is that it succeeds only in part in realizing its central purpose, that of demonstrating the meaningful relationship between ideas and institutions in China. Kracke's essay, for example, provides much valuable information for the social and economic historian but has almost nothing to say about ideas as such; Levenson's essay, on the other hand, is an admirable study of Chinese aesthetics but has little direct pertinence to Chinese institutions. Though some (not all) of the remaining essays maintain a better balance, several are encumbered by political details to the point where these tend to obscure the significance of the ideas they are intended to illumine.

For this weakness the authors themselves are only in part responsible; in good measure it must be attributed to the somewhat pallid nature of the political documents available to them. One cannot help being struck, in this connection, by the difference it would have made for the historian of Chinese political ideas in action had China possessed something like a parliament, in which a Chinese Edmund Burke could have expressed his political thinking in glowing oratory. But then, of course, the whole history and nature of Chinese civilization would have been profoundly different. As it is, one of the very few instances of anything remotely comparable in China is the vivid politico-economic debate of 81 B.C., preserved for us in the *Yen t'ieh lun* (Discourses on Salt and Iron). This, however, is not treated in the present book.

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In his introduction, Fairbank comments on the "several man-years of research and the wisdom of many lifetimes" that were advantageously brought together at the initial conference (1954) wherein these papers were first presented and discussed. With such a concentrated battery of learning at hand, one wonders how some of the assertions made in the book were allowed to pass unchallenged. To cite only one of several instances, Eberhard accepts, as "the starting point" for his very interesting essay, the theory of Otto Franke (derived by the latter from traditional Chinese historiography) concerning the alleged use of esoteric terminology by the *Ch'un-ch'iu* chronicle to express moral judgments. We might expect at least one of Eberhard's colleagues to have objected at this point by citing George A. Kennedy's effective refutation of this theory ("Interpretation of the *Ch'un-ch'iu*," *Journal of the American Oriental Society,* LXII [1942], 40–48).

This book deserves high praise as a pioneer effort in an important and little touched field. Because its approach to Chinese thought is more specialized and technical and entails particular problems, it will probably appeal somewhat less to the general reader than did its more purely ideologically oriented predecessor in the same series (Comparative Studies of Cultures and Civilizations), *Studies in Chinese Thought,* edited by Arthur F. Wright in 1953.

*University of Pennsylvania* DERK BODDE

CHINESE SOCIETY IN THAILAND: AN ANALYTICAL HISTORY. By *G. William Skinner.* (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1957. Pp. xvii, 459. $6.50.)

IT is said that most Occidental travelers in Southeast Asia are studying the overseas Chinese problem. Publications concerning this problem, however, are not many, and among them Dr. Skinner's book is one of the best. It is a combination of historical survey and social analysis of the Chinese in Thailand based upon published material but also the result of field study when the author directed the Cornell Research Center in Bangkok. Skinner's presentation tells a moving story of the vicissitudes of the Thailand Chinese.

The Chinese were already established in the Gulf of Siam before the formation of the Thai kingdom. From the thirteenth century to 1855, Siam presented China periodic tribute, and many kings received investitures from China for their economic advantages. Some Thai cities had a larger Chinese than native population. The Siamese kings were dependent on Chinese commercial and maritime skills. In spite of the popular myth about the "unchanging Chinese," Skinner found that the descendants of Chinese immigrants have been assimilating to Thai society since the beginning of Chinese settlement in Siam. The father of King Taksin (1767–1782) was Chinese, and other modern Thai kings also had Chinese blood, but they ignored it. Throughout Siamese history, the kings conferred nobility on the Chinese in order to assure their loyalty to the crown.

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Before 1910 about one million Chinese traveled freely, settled down everywhere in Siam, and engaged in any trade without restrictions. Thereafter misfortune befell them. Learning from European advisers the ideas of ethnocentrism and the "Yellow Peril," the Thai kings began to label the Chinese the "Jews of Siam." Measures were taken to restrict their business activities and to discriminate against them so as to compel assimilation. The poorly educated Chinese, divided into five different dialect groups and further divided by Kuomintang and Communist government sentiment, could not unite themselves against the discrimination. After 1938 the Thai policy toward the Chinese was characterized by ruthless repression and containment; methods similar to those of the Nazis were tried. Thai police quashed all Chinese nationalist organizations and activities, and after the Pearl Harbor attack several thousand Chinese were deported as undesirable aliens. In 1942, the government reserved for Thai nationals twenty-seven different occupations and professions, most of which had formerly been dominated by the Chinese. Ten provinces were declared out of bounds to aliens, and all Chinese had to depart immediately. After 1943 Chinese were not allowed to buy land in Thailand.

Premier Phibun's retirement and Chinese victory in World War II reversed the containment policy. China and Thailand recommenced diplomatic relations. Immigration was unrestricted in 1946–1947, and as a result some 170,000 Chinese flocked into Thailand. Today the total number of Chinese in Thailand is between two and one half and three million. After Phibun returned to power in 1947, he pursued a strong assimilation policy. Chinese schools throughout the country were closed; frequent nationwide raids rounded up hundreds of Chinese charged with "un-Thai" activities. The Chinese Chamber of Commerce was destroyed, and Chinese businessmen must now bribe Thai officials and make formal business alliances with them. Many major Chinese firms have been reorganized since 1951 to incorporate Thai officials on the boards in order to obtain official protection.

Although the book contains several minor errors in dates and uses a Romanization system for Thai names that is different from most other works, Skinner has made a substantial contribution.

*Indiana University* S. Y. Teng

THE JAPANESE THRUST INTO SIBERIA, 1918. By *James William Morley*. [Studies of the Russian Institute, Columbia University.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1957. Pp. xiii, 395. $6.00.)

This impressive study casts new light on the 1918 inter-Allied intervention in Siberia by answering the question: Why did Japan participate? At the same time, it illumines the nature of the political process in Japan by answering the question: How was that decision made? The answers to these questions are based on Russian and other Western-language sources and a careful study of hitherto unused

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Japanese documents—Foreign Office archives, navy and army ministry files, biographies, and other works. Fifteen source documents, eleven translated from Japanese military sources, are included as appendixes. In thirteen tightly packed, carefully written chapters, the author analyzes separately and together three elements involved in Japan's decision to intervene—the political situation in the Amur basin area, the attitude of the Western powers toward an expedition, and the location of political power within Japan.

Long before the official decision to participate was made, Japanese "interventionists," fearing the encroachment of the Soviet revolution and the extension of German-Austrian power into the Far East, gave support to Semenov, Horvat, and other pro-Japanese Russians. Japanese documents indicate that the navy, army, and Foreign Office all favored and planned action to secure control of northeast Asia for Japan. But there were "noninterventionists" in Japan who delayed an expedition for fear of the consequences of independent action. For months, therefore, Japanese adventurers and agents covertly endeavored to build an anti-Bolshevik dam. Their activities are described as part of the bewilderingly complex political situation in the Amur area after the collapse of the tzarist government. In the end, it was the American invitation to participate in an Allied expedition to rescue beleaguered Czech troops that resolved the debate in Japan. The conditions of the "noninterventionists" had been met, and the "interventionists" welcomed the opportunity to pursue broader objectives than the invitation expected.

The main focus of this work is on the structure of political power in Japan and its influence on this major decision. One could quarrel with the author's composition of some of the political groups he identifies. The frequent use of the term "clique," in particular, seems often to obscure more than to reveal and leads to unlikely claims, such as that Prince Saionji was both a leader of a subordinate wing of the Choshu clique and a liberal opponent of the same clique. When, as in Japan, the influence of informal groups and individuals is so great, the precise location of political authority in any given instance is formidable. This analysis does convincingly support the contention that the decision to intervene openly in Siberia was reached through a compromise among several centers of power—the military and civil bureaucracy, the political parties, and private groups. As a study of the process of the formation of Japanese government policy, this book stands as one of the best accounts available.

*Northwestern University* ROGER F. HACKETT

## American History

THE AMERICAN WAY. By *Dexter Perkins*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1957. Pp. 141. $2.75.)

THE publications of Dexter Perkins, former president of the American Historical Association and presently John L. Senior Professor in American Civilization

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at Cornell University, range from highly specialized books and articles dealing with various phases of American policy to lucid, informative, and interpretative essays, of which these are an admirable sample. Whether they are the product of exhaustive research or the result of meditation about the meaning and redefinition of familiar terms, all of his publications are characterized by their excellence of content and high literary quality.

Four of the five essays comprising this volume are concerned with the ideas and contributions to American civilization of a political group: conservatives, liberals, radicals, socialists. The same general organizational pattern applies to each group: the meaning of the terms conservatism, liberalism, radicalism, and socialism; the essential characteristics of each; and the contribution of each group to governmental power and its relation to the social order. This method of treatment involves not only careful definition of terms but the use of the entire span of American government and society from colonial times to the present as a source for illustrative material. The conservative, Professor Perkins holds, is neither a reactionary nor a standpatter. He believes in the inherent weakness of human nature, that sin and selfishness are ineradicable, and that the possibility of human improvement has been exaggerated. The conservative, therefore, has only limited faith in the political competence of the masses and at all times would limit their political power. In general, the conservative tends to be realistic and cautious in outlook and actions. The essence of liberalism, the author believes, lies in the positive desire for the improvement of the social, political, economic, and international order. The liberal is by temperament generous and optimistic; he has a humane interest in his fellow man and a firm conviction that there is the possibility of a better world and that society can, through the machinery of government, rid the body politic of the inequalities, injustices, and selfishnesses that plague mankind. Finally, Perkins observes that liberalism is the enemy of a narrow and restricted nationalism. In the essay on radicalism and its advocacy of drastic social, political, and economic change, the emphasis is upon those movements in American history that belong within the boundaries of real radicalism. These are, according to Perkins, the abolition of slavery and the immediate enfranchisement of the Negro that followed it, the prohibition movement, and the anarchist and communist movements. Partly because of their impatience with prevailing methods of effecting change and partly because of the ideology advocated, radicalism has failed to obtain a secure foothold in the United States. The essay on socialism presents a brief history of the movement in America and addresses itself to the question of why socialism has played such a restricted role in this country. Like the radicals, the socialists have served as gadflies and critics, and in this way they have, the author indicates, contributed constructively to the social and political health of the nation.

The concluding essay, from which the book gets its title, is a kind of balance sheet. On the credit side are the items which Perkins believes worthy of admira-

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tion by comparative historical standards. On the debit side are listed the vice of self-complacency, the squalor of two million of our farm families, the noisome slums of our cities, the inferior status of our colored citizens, the disturbing amount of actual corruption in political life, the wrongdoing that characterizes parts of both business and organized labor, and our failure as yet to master the art of wise management of our national economy. As between the debit and the credit parts of the balance sheet, there is no doubt in the author's mind about the present state of America's spiritual soundness and what must be done to ensure its continued greatness.

Those who labor in the academic vineyard and that great host of laymen who wish to better understand the story of American development are greatly indebted to Perkins for making these essays, based on lectures given at Cornell University, available in published form.

*Columbia University* HARRY J. CARMAN

FUNDAMENTAL LIBERTIES OF A FREE PEOPLE: RELIGION, SPEECH, PRESS, ASSEMBLY. By *Milton R. Konvitz.* (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1957. Pp. xiii, 420. $5.00.)

HAS there been in the McCarthy decade in the United States a scholarly undertaking in history and government greater in current importance to the nation and also in ultimate value in the preservation of our heritage of the free way of life than the Studies in Civil Liberty series in progress at Cornell University? If there has been, then this one reader of many worthwhile books in the social sciences field does not know it. The series made possible by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation and under the advisory editorship of Cornell's distinguished professor of government, Robert E. Cushman, now stands at an even fifteen volumes. These deal with a wide range of situations and issues in the civil liberties field and related activities of legislative groups and officials. If this reviewer's count is right, four of these studies (including those inspired by the project)—and each is a full-sized volume of original research—are to be credited to Milton R. Konvitz, professor in the New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations at Cornell. The present volume is a splendid companion to the author's recent *Bill of Rights Reader,* which brought together leading American constitutional cases in the wide range of civil liberties.

Professor Konvitz' plan in his new book is a simple one. Although the Bill of Rights consists of only 462 words, he centers on the forty-five words comprising the First Amendment, for he regards them as "the most precious of all." Surely most students of history will agree with him that "the guaranties of the First Amendment, freedoms of religion, speech, press, and assembly, and the guaranty of the writ of habeas corpus are the bedrock of American freedom."

The author takes up freedom of religion first since it comes first in the Bill of

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Rights, but he happens to believe that it is the most important of all our liberties. He calls it not only "the crowning feature among our freedoms" but the very "basis of American society." His study of the history of freedom of religion in the United States leads him to say that this is even more true today than when the nation was founded. His treatment of religious freedom impresses on the reader the necessity for keeping church and state scrupulously separate. He writes: "It is doubtful if religion is in a stronger position in Italy, where Roman Catholicism is the state religion, or in England, where the Anglican Church is the established church, than it is in the United States," where the Constitution forbids any act of Congress "respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

Konvitz prizes highly the right of privacy. He takes up the freedom not to speak, the freedom not to listen, and the right to be let alone before he reviews fighting words, obscene literature, previous restraint, picketing in labor disputes, taxes on knowledge, test and loyalty oaths, and guilt by association. He finds no value whatever in loyalty oaths as a means of either instilling or enforcing patriotism. The United States Supreme Court's failure in 1952 to declare the New York Feinberg (teachers' oath) law and its supporting regulations "unconstitutional on their face is difficult to understand and even more difficult to justify."

The author devotes the final third of his volume to a study of the famous clear and present danger doctrine as applied in cases involving freedom of speech, press, and assembly. This requires a careful analysis of the facts in *Dennis* v. *the United States,* the decision of the Supreme Court upholding the conviction of the original eleven Communist leaders under the 1940 Smith Act. In order to be wholly fair in presenting the pros and cons, Konvitz summarizes extensively not only the Vinson, Jackson, Frankfurter, Black, and Douglas positions but also the Federal Court of Appeals decision of Judge Learned Hand, which Chief Justice Vinson so largely adopted. He gives Justice Frankfurter full credit for distinguishing between the wisdom of the Smith Act and its constitutionality, for "an act of Congress may be unwise and yet constitutional." Then the author says on his own account: "I feel sure that no matter how many times Frankfurter may repeat this proposition, American citizens will tend to think that what is constitutional is wise and that what is wise is constitutional. And this feeling cannot and ought not to be brushed aside as one based on ignorance or foolishness; for a constitution ought to be an expression of the wisest political thought of the people—it ought to be framed so as to maximize legislative and judicial wisdom and to minimize idiocy."

Konvitz' final conclusion on *Dennis,* after he has brooded over the case, is that "the defendants were punished because it was inferred from the nature of their doctrines and from the conduct of Lenin and Stalin, who held the same doctrines, that they would, if they had an opportunity, commit a crime. According to Macaulay, though the inference may be right, such punishment is persecution.

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This was the judgment, too, of Justices Black and Douglas. If driven to take a final position, I would agree; but I would add that the prosecution was a beast that could neither bear nor throw off its load, and that now we are in the same predicament with respect to the conviction; we can neither bear nor throw off its load."

Fortunately, since that was written, the judicial throwing off of the load has begun. It was begun in mid-June, 1957, when the Supreme Court, with Earl Warren in the chief justice's chair in place of the late Fred M. Vinson and three other changes in personnel, freed California Communists convicted under the Smith Act. Since then lower federal court judges have been following suit.

*St. Louis Post-Dispatch* IRVING DILLIARD

AMERICAN NATIONALISM: AN INTERPRETATIVE ESSAY. By *Hans Kohn*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1957. Pp. xi, 272. $5.00.)

NATIONALISM is a psychological phenomenon; as such, it has had an enormous influence in the determination of historical events, especially since the French Revolution. Where it has been active and powerful it is clearly identifiable; it is possible to write a history of it. This book is not such a history nor does it pretend to be. It purports to be "an interpretative essay," which proposes "to discuss some of the chief problems inherent in the very complex phenomenon of American nationalism as they appear to a student of comparative nationalism, and to try to interpret these problems in the light of national movements in other parts of the world, especially in Europe."

Professor Kohn, who has established himself as one of the recognized masters of the history of this phenomenon, nationalism, finds that some of the usual bases of nationalistic feeling are absent in the United States. The citizens who constitute the American people have had no common origins, they have had no common religion, they have had no fixed common territory to give them a feeling of "rootedness." On the contrary, their law, their language, their literature, and their political traditions are rooted in those of a nation other than their own. There have been, says Kohn, three great and unique factors in the formation of the American national ideal: the "English tradition of liberty," "the immense thinly populated continent," and "the millions of immigrants who poured into the country." But the cement that binds the American nation is an idea—the English tradition of liberty as it developed from older roots in the two revolutions of the seventeenth century. Somewhere along the line the English idea became American, and "the American idea of liberty—with its recognition of diversity in origins and religious background—has proved a stronger national cement and a more secure basis for ordered liberty and economic prosperity than bonds of common blood or religion or the uniformity of a closed society."

"America's pioneering innovation," conceived in the name of liberty, was "the federal solution of a republic of many republics." As the nineteenth century,

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"the age of nationalism," wore into the twentieth, ostensibly the age of internationalism, it was the destiny of the United States to bring this invention, as a "nation among nations," to its role of leadership in the solution of the problems confronting the councils of the world.

Kohn apparently identifies—one might even say confuses—American nationalism with the American national movement, or the birth and growth of a national society. It is difficult to distinguish such a history from the usual survey of the growth of American society. One of the most obvious criticisms of this book is that, in the narration of so many of the well-known facts of the growth of American society, following the usual chronological arrangement, the historical phenomenon of nationalism, which is inherent in so much of the history, to all intents and purposes is entirely submerged and disappears from view. This characteristic of the essay becomes more and more notable as one reads on. One wonders, for example, just what the pertinence may be of the long discussion of the history of American international relations (from pages 196 to 225) to the history of the phenomenon, American nationalism.

The fact appears to be that Kohn is an American nationalist as well as a historian of American nationalism. There are many points at which he identifies himself with the nationalism he is discussing, and he sits in moral judgment of the protagonists and antagonists upon his stage. For example, he says that the conquest of fascism and the disappearance of communism would "not make all peoples like Western democracy. In view of the multiplicity of traditions and ways of life on this earth, such a development is neither desirable nor possible. . . . What is needed is the cooperation, with the United States *primus inter pares,* of the Western Nations."

The essayist, of course, is free to interpret his materials in moral terms if he will; it is his right to point out to his contemporaries what is needed. But when he shifts from a critical historical examination of what was to what is needed, when he directs the intent of his essay toward influencing the course of events, he ceases to be a historian and becomes a pleader of a cause. At this point, his book ceases to be history and becomes a nationalist tract.

*University of Washington* MAX SAVELLE

A HISTORY OF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS. By *Eugene H. Roseboom.* (New York: Macmillan Company. 1957. Pp. vi, 568. $8.50.)

APT characterizations, lively language, and judgments stemming from mature scholarship give breadth, freshness, and depth to a study superseding the work of Edward Stanwood. From the time of Washington to that of Eisenhower, generals in politics, statesmanlike civilians, skilled campaigners, and blundering misfits shine or fade as they pass in review. The presidential election drama is one appealing to many Americans, and here it is presented not only with clarity but with considerable color and charm.

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The author's method is not to concern himself exclusively with elections per se. Integrating victories and defeats with situations leading to them, he discusses the policies of incumbent presidents as well as nominations and turnouts at the polls. Platforms, resolutions, keynote speeches, national chairmen, and campaign promises receive their share of attention. But wars, depressions, executive failures, and popular and unpopular laws have often been of greater importance than last-minute falderal or flimflam, and Professor Roseboom seems keenly aware of this. The result is that as the reader approaches one campaign after another he is prepared for issues and subtleties which otherwise might have eluded him.

To a great degree, therefore, the volume is a political history of the United States, but attention is focused on elections—their similarities and dissimilarities and the standard-bearers involved. Though presidential candidates come to life in a succession of artistic vignettes, the author does not make the error of skimming along the political surface. Campaign bitterness, the low blows struck, evasions of the Hatch Law, and the sulk of the disconsolate all have a place in the account. The Roorbach fabrication, the nonexistent Murchison, the fear appeal, bribery, and even "Joe Smith" are given their moments in the spotlight. The irony of the T.R.-Taft relationship, the "botanical excursion" of Jefferson and Madison, the "swing around the circle," and the "whistlestop campaign" are typical of many matters treated with candor, humor, and accuracy. The author is at his best in interpreting periods of transition. He does not shrink from expressing opinions or from daring to say "I do not know." The story is up to date, running as it does through the 1956 campaign. Some seventy titles published since 1947 are in the "Selective Bibliography." Gentlemen in gray flannel suits may be interested to know that not only newspapers but the periodical press, radio, and television are appraised.

An occasional error might be pinpointed. It is doubtful, for example, that the statement about "Fifty-four Forty or Fight" would have been made if recent articles in *American Speech* and the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* had been taken into consideration. The authorship of Zachary Taylor's 1848 "First Allison Letter" is not "uncertain" in 1958. One wonders why W. Dean Burnham's *Presidential Ballots, 1836–1892* (listed in the bibliography) is not among the "sources" cited on page 123. Florence Kling Harding was not "childless," though she produced no heir for the twenty-ninth President. Mentioning such flaws suggests correctly that slips are few and incidental.

If the author has a thesis, it is to the effect that "the successful Presidents have been those who accepted the responsibilities of party leadership and policy making and acted accordingly." But Roseboom does not belabor this or any other point. Leaving much to the reader's intelligence, he avoids preachiness. Many years went into the preparation of *A History of Presidential Elections,* and the product's excellence is proof that they were well spent.

*University of Kentucky* HOLMAN HAMILTON

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THE PRESIDENCY IN THE COURTS. By *Glendon A. Schubert, Jr.* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1957. Pp. xi, 391. $5.50.)

THIS is "a study in the powers of the Presidency, as seen through the eyes of the courts," and after examining over seven hundred pertinent cases Professor Schubert decides that "the judicial formulation of the institutional role of the President is the Dark Continent of our public law." He concludes that the "most significant aspect of judicial review of presidential orders is its ineffectiveness." Of course the court should not and, with rare exception, does not settle political questions. President and Congress obviously "must decide the great questions of constitutional law." But, inquires Schubert, unless the courts "attempt to second-guess the President on fundamental issues of public policy, what is left for them to do?"

As commander-in-chief the President possesses practically the power of a dictator. This conclusion is virtually the same as Clinton Rossiter's that "there is apparently nothing the President cannot do *constitutionally* if war should strike the country." Schubert recognizes that in wartime there is no effective legislative or judicial check on the President. Even in time of peace the commander-in-chief can declare martial law and subject civilians in the designated area to military courts (commissions) with the right of appeal only to the commander-in-chief, not to the regular courts, and thus "the President himself is the Supreme Court."

As if this were not enough, Schubert concludes that, as chief of state, the President's powers are "if anything, even more absolute and beyond the scope of challenge in the courts." This conclusion is based on the plenary powers the Supreme Court has declared to inhere in the President as the sole organ of the nation in foreign relations. The Court will not challenge or even let Congress challenge the President's power as chief administrator to remove his executive subordinates or to subdelegate his powers. The courts have long permitted him broad powers in disposition and use of the public lands. With respect to certain subjects the Supreme Court has "recognized the right of the President to act affirmatively in the public interest," and it should be remembered that a presidential proclamation or executive order is now public law, just as are statutes. Moreover, the burden of proof is upon him who challenges the President's action in the courts, and there have been very few cases in which the President's orders have been held unconstitutional.

This is a dispassionate investigation of the subject under study, but Schubert reveals a pardonable resentment that the Supreme Court is not so concerned when the President exercises his prerogative powers on persons but jealously safeguards property against the President's exercise of powers not authorized by Congress. He feels that the Supreme Court's reversal of Truman's seizure of the steel plants during the Korean War was out of line with precedents. "In any event," he declares, "that opinion of the Court is *sui generis*." He also resents the decision of a circuit court in 1926 that was tender about the inconvenience suffered by wool growers during World War I. Said the court: "They wanted to help the govern-

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ment in its [*sic*] hour of difficulty, provided they were not called upon to do more than they thought was their share." Concerning this Schubert asks: "What was the share of the war dead and the war maimed?" His resentment, however, is almost concealed amid the fine print of the 876 citations and footnotes.

*Ohio Northern University* WILFRED E. BINKLEY

THE ROLE OF THE SUPREME COURT IN AMERICAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS, 1835–1864. By *Charles Grove Haines* and *Foster H. Sherwood*. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1957. Pp. x, 533. $7.50.)

PUBLICATION of this stale rehash is difficult to justify except on the ground that the book conveniently gathers in one pot ingredients formerly stored in several. One who has read the standard works covering this period of the Court's history, especially Swisher's *Taney,* Wright's *Contract Clause,* Frankfurter's *Commerce Clause,* Warren's *The Supreme Court,* and Randall's *Constitutional Problems under Lincoln,* will find this elephantine volume a tedious restatement. In this instance, *e pluribus unum* has not made a union of many into a new synthesis. Despite the authors' belief that some particular viewpoint or fact has been "frequently overlooked," we would have to turn back the clock of scholarship at least three decades to invest with any freshness a judgment that Hamiltonianism and Jeffersonianism were economic as well as political theories, or that the Taney Court did not manifest a narrow-minded localism that broke sharply from the Marshall tradition. The thesis of this book is the now familiar one found in all textbooks on our constitutional history: the Jacksonians on the Supreme Court under Taney were influenced far less by "Jacksonian democracy" than by John Marshall. As Maitland once said: "Taught law is tough law." Its survival power is evident in the three interrelated themes that the authors find running through the decisions of the Taney Court: nationalism, expansion of the federal judicial power, and protection of property rights, particularly the corporate variety.

The predecessor to this volume was Professor Haines's superb study of the period from 1789 to 1835. The only scholar who wrote at length about Marshall without carrying on a love affair with the great chief justice, Haines gave us a critical reinterpretation of the formative period, based on prodigious research, which drew blood from the neo-Federalist works of Beveridge, Warren, and Corwin. But the dragon had already been slain by others when Haines and, after his death in 1948, Sherwood turned to the period covered by the current volume. The book relies heavily, as it must, upon the reported decisions of the Court and upon better known secondary accounts, though few recent ones. Neither the footnotes (there is no bibliography) nor the text indicate use of such recent excellent studies as those by Commager on Story, Graham on due process, Mendelson on Dred Scott, Hurst on American law, or Silver on the Lincoln Court. Manuscript and newspaper sources are not utilized, except in rare and unimportant instances.

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There is little to distinguish this book except its poundage, much of which derives from mercilessly and pointlessly long, factual accounts of cases, often without the accompaniment of critical discussion or explanation of their significance. The cases seem to be reviewed dutifully because they fall within the terminal dates of the Taney Court. Judicial history of this kind has all the value of an encyclopedia, or, more relevantly, a digest of 11 *Peters* to 1 *Wallace*. The book's usefulness as a reference work is unquestionable, and in this case scholars will particularly appreciate the occasional stress on lower court decisions and arguments of counsel and the narration in depth, against a historical background, of the great cases of the period. They will also find treated lesser cases that others have with good reason left moldering in the *United States Reports*. But they will not find the insights, originality, or crackle that distinguished the first volume of this history of the Court.

*Brandeis University* LEONARD W. LEVY

AMERICAN CITIES IN THE GROWTH OF THE NATION. By *Constance McLaughlin Green*. (New York: John de Graff. 1957. Pp. xii, 258. $6.50.)

ACCEPTING it for the general work which the author presumably intended it to be, this is a first-rate book, one that begins, at least, to piece together the history of urban development in the United States. It contains eight capsule histories of American cities or groups of cities (Mrs. Green is too modest in calling them "sketches"), which were originally given as lectures at University College, London, in 1951.

Faced with the problem of presenting an over-all picture of city growth in America, Mrs. Green resorted to an admittedly schematic method: she delineates the history of "particular cities at particular periods" in their urban careers so as to suggest, in sum, the character of the nation's urban development as a whole. Thus she deals successively with the seaboard cities, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Charleston, and Boston, in the early nineteenth century; with the river cities, Cincinnati, St. Louis, and New Orleans, to the 1850's; with Holyoke, Naugatuck, and Chicago, in which the focus is mainly upon developments of the later nineteenth century; and with Denver, Wichita, Seattle, Detroit, and Washington, the stories of which are carried forward into the twentieth century in such a way as to illustrate the urban problems of recent times.

Granting the validity (and even ingenuity) of Mrs. Green's schematic approach, the implementation of the scheme is not always ideal. For instance, confining the discussion of New York City to the period previous to 1830 deprives the total picture of what is undoubtedly the preeminent example of the ethnic variety as well as the national and international influence of the twentieth-century city, even though the author suggests these attributes of the contemporary urban scene in the treatment of Detroit and Chicago. The inclusion of chapters on the "port" and

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the "river" cities calls attention to the absence of a discussion of the "lake" cities of the Great Lakes area; their role was of comparable significance in connection with a later phase of the westward movement of population in the United States. Lacking, too, is adequate reference to the cities of the "New" South or to such urban phenomena as Los Angeles and Miami. Moreover, as is true of many a broad work that must be compressed into limited space, there are a number of statements and generalizations with which other specialists in the field will not agree.

Despite these reservations, the over-all accomplishment is nevertheless impressive. To be sure, some cities are presented with greater insight than others. In this reviewer's opinion, Baltimore, New Orleans, Chicago, Seattle, and Washington are most effectively etched. But with respect to all of them, Mrs. Green reveals an admirable grasp at least of the secondary bibliography, which is no small achievement. Most importantly, she succeeds in getting beneath the superficial aspects of the urban scene to deal with such questions as the bearing of the cities' economic welfare upon their growth, the interplay of social and ethnic groups and tensions in the evolving communities, and the subtle factors of urban personality, which differentiate one city from another. In addition to breadth of exposition and coverage there are an engaging felicity of phrase and a commendable (if sometimes somewhat subjective) forthrightness of judgment and interpretation. Mrs. Green's book may not fulfill all the promise of its overly inclusive title, but it certainly moves us closer than we have been before to the as yet unwritten synthesis of the history of the city in American life.

*New York University* BAYRD STILL

NATURE AND THE AMERICAN: THREE CENTURIES OF CHANGING ATTITUDES. By *Hans Huth.* (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1957. Pp. xvii, 250. $7.50.)

THIS book is concerned with themes of increasing interest. It recalls the work of William D. Templeman, Elizabeth W. Manwaring, and Claire-Eliane Engel, among historians of European taste and literature, and of the late Robert Taft, though none of these undertook so large an assignment, ranging from aesthetics to recreation. The scope is as extensive as that of John A. Kouwenhoven's *Made in America,* which treats a different kind of taste making, in broader strokes. Huth's emphases reflect his background as a student of art history, a curator at German museums and at the Chicago Art Institute, a park historian, and a mountain climber. He is particularly successful with individual nineteenth-century artists and writers, including James Kirke Paulding, Washington Allston, Nathaniel P. Willis, Henry David Thoreau, Albert Bierstadt, and John Burroughs. Perhaps because of the variety of his concerns, he does not pause to explore large reactions to Western nature as Roy H. Pearce and Henry Nash Smith have done.

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The introductory and concluding parts are the least successful as history, either because of the author's strong romantic commitments or because there are pitfalls that a historian might have avoided even in a field where historians have done so little. His Puritan is a refugee from an earlier era of historiography, who denies himself "the enjoyment of nature in order to gain the grace of God." He deplores Puritan disapproval of a Maypole, "which gave city people a rare opportunity to gather leisurely in the open air," saying nothing of the other doings at Merry Mount, long before factories and railroad flats. Huth praises Benjamin Franklin for his stove, which, "by making it possible for firewood to be utilized far more economically than before, opened an entirely new line of thought, that of conserving natural resources," but regrets Franklin's shortcomings in romantic appreciation of natural beauty. In the last chapters he concentrates on public issues as a partisan of the Wilderness Society and of the National Park Service, which he identifies with the aesthetic approach to conservation; the Forest Service and its friends were "against all varieties of conservation which were not strictly utilitarian or economic," and Gifford Pinchot himself was guilty of encouraging San Francisco to turn the Hetch Hetchy Valley into a reservoir—a problem that has embarrassed other conservationists also.

The sources indicate long and painstaking labor. Sixty-four plates dated from 1790 to 1950 and twenty-nine smaller illustrations add interest, though not all of them seem closely related to the text. This is an attractive as well as important work.

*University of Oregon* EARL POMEROY

LAND TENURE AND LAND TAXATION IN AMERICA. By *Aaron M. Sakolski.* (New York: Robert Schalkenbach Foundation. 1957. Pp. xii, 316. $3.50.)

THE use made of land affects human welfare, frequently producing political corruption and economic ruin. The United States suffers less seriously from this problem than most nations because until recent years it had an abundance of uninhabited land. We will encounter more serious difficulties in the future, Dr. Sakolski believes, now that this situation has changed. He wrote this book, just before his death, to provide a historical background for those who might be considering solutions to new situations. In it he traces how publicly-owned land passed into private hands, from colonial times through the 1930's. He pictures a series of ill-advised policies through which, whether intended or not, huge tracts came into the hands of speculators rather than remaining available for genuine settlers. Sometimes the monopolists reaped large rewards, but often they continued their activities until they overreached themselves financially and failed. In their manipulations they frequently resorted to many forms of dishonesty. From the colonial proprietors of the Carolinas through the Galveston Bay and Texas Land

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Company, from the Ordinance of 1785 through the Timber Act of 1878, from the townsite speculation of post-Revolutionary times through the Los Angeles and Florida booms of the 1920's—all, Sakolski declares, are evidences of the same human selfishness virtually unchecked by public opinion or government action. Farm land, town lots, forests, and mineral resources were swept into the hands of those unwilling to consider anything but their own immediate, pecuniary advantage. Various reforms proposed or attempted have not yet affected the broad course of our land history. Perhaps in the future, the author believes, some combination of Henry George's single tax, the progressive tax (as the total quantity of land owned by an individual increases), and social control of use will be adopted rather than land nationalization.

When Sakolski, an economist, wrote *The Great American Land Bubble* in 1932, he showed no great sympathy with land speculators. Apparently his dislike has grown into antipathy with the passing of the years. About forty per cent of his present book is a condensation of his earlier one, sometimes in the same sentences, with only occasional efforts to bring his material abreast of recent scholarly researches. He expands his treatment of colonial times and adds entirely new material on the European background, many aspects of federal policy, and farm tenancy. He obviously does not intend to present a fully rounded, complete picture of our land history but rather to point out those questionable aspects crying out for future reforms. The material is logically arranged and clearly presented. Probably no statement of fact in the book is incorrect, although some conclusions might be debated, but historians will find it valuable chiefly for suggesting topics to examine further in other studies. To those who are convinced land reforms are necessary, it will provide an arsenal of historical arguments.

*University of Idaho* WILLIAM S. GREEVER

THE JACKSONIAN PERSUASION: POLITICS AND BELIEF. By *Marvin Meyers*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1957. Pp. vi, 231. $5.00.)

HERE is one of those rare books so provocative as to demand the attention of all American historians. For the political historian, Mr. Meyers offers a way of taking political rhetoric seriously without taking it at face value. For the intellectual historian, he shows how to extract from political behavior the social values of a whole people. And along the shadowy boundary between political and intellectual history, where social psychology has established its enclave, he delineates in a novel and persuasive way some fundamental dimensions and tensions of the American character in its crucial Jacksonian phase.

How, Meyers begins by asking, can we account for the tremendous public response to the Jacksonian appeal? Class interest seems an inadequate explanation, in view of "the broadly similar class constituencies" reached by both Democratic and Whig parties; yet we cannot dismiss the exciting party struggles of

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the 1830's as mere "sound and fury, signifying nothing." "Why," he asks, "did political language go so far beyond practical objects?" His answer is found in what he calls the "expressive role" of politics.

The Jacksonian appeal, as Meyers understands it, sought "to recall agrarian republican innocence to a society drawn fatally to the main chance and the long chance." The American of the Jacksonian era was afire with capitalist ambitions generated by a newly dynamic liberal society, yet at the same time uneasy amid ceaseless change, boom and bust. This "venturous conservative" was only a generation removed from the simpler America of Jefferson's day, where the principles of a liberal society had been read as guaranteeing a stable yeoman order invested with high moral value. By Jackson's day "the liberal principle" and "the yeoman ideal" were "splitting hopelessly apart," but the Jacksonian appeal allowed men to "follow their desires, protest their injuries, affirm their innocence" all by the same symbolic response.

This thesis Meyers develops by analyzing with extraordinary subtlety and grace a wide range of materials—Jackson's messages, Cooper's novels, the debates in the New York constitutional conventions of 1821 and 1846, and the writings of Tocqueville, Van Buren, Theodore Sedgwick, William Leggett, and Robert Rantoul, Jr. Historians habituated to orthodox methods may have trouble getting used to his unfamiliar but rewarding techniques, and even then legitimate questions may be raised. I wonder, for example, whether Meyers distinguishes sufficiently between the Jacksonians proper and Americans in general, whether, that is, he grants enough significance to the differential appeal of the Whig and Democratic parties. He implies (as I read chapter VI) that the entrepreneurial spirit was epidemic among Americans, that the Jacksonians, too, were "mighty sinners against Jacksonian commandments," that they were "at once the judges and the judged." Yet elsewhere he recognizes that the Whig party "spoke to the explicit hopes of Americans as Jacksonians addressed their diffuse fears and resentments," that it "distinctively affirmed the material promise of American life as it was going." This question of differentiation between the Jacksonians and their opponents is, of course, the central issue in the historians' debate over Jacksonian democracy, and Meyers has brilliantly recast the framework within which the discussion must proceed.

*Princeton University* CHARLES GRIER SELLERS, JR.

CHICAGO GIANT: A BIOGRAPHY OF "LONG JOHN" WENTWORTH. By *Don E. Fehrenbacher.* (Madison, Wis.: American History Research Center. 1957. Pp. viii, 278. $4.50.)

WENTWORTH Avenue is one of Chicago's longest streets, but very few Chicagoans know much about the man for whom it was named. An editor, six times a congressman, mayor, progressive farmer, railroad director, and man of means, "Long

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John" Wentworth was a prominent figure in the civic and political life of the city for fifty years. He arrived in Chicago in the fall of 1836, ambitious to make his mark, and in less than a year he was launched on a twenty-five year career of journalism and a half-century of controversial activity. To the masthead of his *Chicago Democrat* he affixed his motto, "Principles, Not Men," and at his death in 1888, at the age of seventy-three, it could be said that he had kept the faith, at least in his own way.

In politics he began as a Jacksonian Democrat, but in reality he was a Jacksonian *democrat*. It was the latter that made him so controversial, and it was not long until he was an insurgent within his party's ranks. He was in agreement with some of the party's principles, such as those on banking, but as an advocate of free soil, homesteads, nonextension of slavery, and other western programs he had many a falling out with party leaders. He took a forthright stand on the issues emanating from the Oregon question, the Mexican War, the Compromise of 1850, and the Kansas-Nebraska troubles. Through Wentworth's actions, the author has very clearly traced all these complex problems.

Men, as well as principles, did influence Wentworth, however. He denounced any opponent, political or otherwise, as an enemy of the people. When the Democrats excommunicated him he became a "reluctant" Republican, but there is good reason to believe that many Republicans were just as reluctant to receive him. Although he was Chicago's first Republican mayor and served a term in Congress as a Republican, he was never at peace with the party. As would be expected he was one of the Liberal Republicans who opposed the nomination of Grant for a third time and the "Great Barbecue."

Outside politics he experimented with advanced ideas in agriculture and acquired considerable acreage southwest of the city. He also ventured into real estate and for a time was a director of the Galena and Chicago Union Railroad. In every instance his strong prejudices involved him in controversy. An enigma to all, even to those who knew him best, he was often accused of being an opportunist and a buffoon. When he died, while there was little weeping, people felt that something of the old order had passed.

Dr. Fehrenbacher has used innumerable sources to reconstruct the life of this spectacular individual. He has written an exceedingly interesting and scholarly biography, not only of a man but of a colorful period as well.

*Wayne State University* JOE L. NORRIS

WILSON THE DIPLOMATIST: A LOOK AT HIS MAJOR FOREIGN POLICIES. By *Arthur S. Link*. [Albert Shaw Lectures on Diplomatic History, 1956.] (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins Press. 1957. Pp. xii, 165. $4.00.)

THE Albert Shaw Lectures on Diplomatic History at Johns Hopkins University have provided an opportunity for leading scholars to write and speak on

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topics of particular interest to them. The selection of Arthur S. Link to deliver five lectures on "Wilson the Diplomatist" in December, 1956, was fitting. Professor Link is one of the outstanding authorities on Woodrow Wilson, and the centennial of the President's birth was being widely observed. The lectures (chapters) are organized around certain aspects of Wilson's foreign policy. After a consideration of the chief executive as a diplomatist, the President's role is studied with reference to "problems of neutrality," "the decisions for war," "the liberal peace program," and "the great debate over collective security." The author has chosen topics that Woodrow Wilson himself would possibly have selected.

It should be stressed that Link is trying to present an analysis and interpretation of the President in his capacity as a diplomatist; he is not giving the reader any new material per se based upon research in sources. As a consequence the documentation is limited, and there is no bibliography. But a person of the author's intimate knowledge of the available sources is admirably qualified to write along the lines chosen.

Although Link is obviously one of the admirers of Woodrow Wilson, he does not hesitate to indicate the strengths and weaknesses of Wilson's diplomacy. Consideration is given to his methods in making decisions, his diplomatic techniques, and his basic motivation and outlook. Indeed, the author gives many illustrations of the decision making process without exaggerating its obvious importance. In the lectures on the problems of neutrality and the decisions for war Link is at his best. Here he skillfully portrays and systematically presents the course of events and the role of the President in them. Occasionally he brings in information that is now available to the historian but was not to Wilson at the time he was making some of his basic decisions. A case in point is the German determination to employ unrestricted submarine warfare once enough submarines were available. Link, it should be noted, believes that the House-Grey Agreement of February 22, 1916, was "not an instrument of intervention, but a means of averting American involvement." He is convinced that Wilson decided on war only when the "assault upon American lives and property was so overwhelming and so flagrant that the only possible way to cope with it was to claim the status of a belligerent in order to strike at the sources of German power."

The author is sympathetic to the over-all role of the President at the Paris Peace Conference and believes that the settlement was basically sound but collapsed when it was not defended in the 1930's. On the other hand, he criticizes the chief executive for being too adamant in his struggle with the Senate over the approval of the Treaty of Versailles. In the perspective of time, it is clear from the analysis that Woodrow Wilson stands as one of the leaders of the twentieth century.

*University of Michigan* RUSSELL H. FIFIELD

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THE UNITED STATES AND EAST CENTRAL EUROPE, 1914–1918: A STUDY IN WILSONIAN DIPLOMACY AND PROPAGANDA. By *Victor S. Mamatey.* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1957. Pp. xi, 431. $7.50.)

TIME has tragically revealed that the fragmentation of the Danubian realm was one of the most consequential results of World War I. Is Woodrow Wilson to be blamed—or credited—for the collapse of the Habsburg empire? Professor Mamatey is no stranger to students who have puzzled over this strife-weary question. Readers of his scholarly articles have for some years looked forward to the publication of the major study we now have.

This is an honest, patiently detailed, and carefully documented reconstruction of the steps and forces by which Wilson was brought to support the movements for independence among the ethnic minorities of Austria-Hungary. The influence of Wilson's policies upon the Allied leaders and upon the representatives of the minority movements abroad is subtly assessed, but one finds little here about the mechanics of American "propaganda" and nothing new about the internal activities of the independence movements. This is broadly conceived diplomatic history, solidly supported by impressive research. One might wish that Mamatey had used the papers of the House "Inquiry," the Creel Committee papers, and the George D. Herron papers. But these sources would have changed only slightly the account that Mamatey has mined out of the State Department files, the papers of Woodrow Wilson, Robert Lansing, Tasker H. Bliss, Edward M. House, Sir William Wiseman, and Thomas G. Masaryk, and a very large number of published primary and secondary sources in Czech, Slovak, Serbo-Croatian, Rumanian, Russian, Italian, French, German, and English. In short, this book reflects an unusual combination of linguistic skill and scholarly method. It is also well written, generally, though one is bothered at times by a heavy sarcasm about personalities and wishes at other times that a more rigorous synthesis might have been achieved.

"If I say that we must not bet all on one card, it is because Russia herself is weak, and perhaps others will decide her fate." Masaryk's keen analysis of 1917 seemed to become reality a year later, and Mamatey puts the stamp of historical approval upon Masaryk's gamble: "Victory over the Central Powers—*that* was the great Allied contribution to the freedom of the peoples of East Central Europe. Wilsonian America contributed to the Allied victory; Bolshevik Russia did not." The author makes it clear that forces and failures within the Habsburg empire gave rise to the independence movements. He strongly sympathizes with these movements and wishes that Wilson had not waited so long to support them. Thus Mamatey is favorable toward Lansing, who wished to endorse the independence movements ("primarily as a war measure," but also because they were "just and wise for the future"), and he quotes at unseemly length and otherwise indicates his agreement with Lansing's harsh evaluation of House, who did not. Mamatey definitively demonstrates that Wilson's ultimate and still hesitant de-

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cision in May, 1918, to subvert the dual monarchy was made only after he had failed in his prolonged efforts to draw Emperor Charles away from his dominating German ally.

Ironically, in view of Mamatey's partially justified complaint that Wilson ignored his secretary of state, the President finally adopted Lansing's policy for Austria-Hungary. Should he have done so? Might continued refusal on his part have saved the unity of the Danubian area? These are questions on which debate will continue wherever the spirit of free historical inquiry exists. This volume informs the debate. It merits respect as the standard study of this subject.

*Tulane University* JOHN L. SNELL

FORD: EXPANSION AND CHALLENGE, 1915–1933. By *Allan Nevins* and *Frank Ernest Hill*. Research Associates: *William Greenleaf* and *George B. Heliker*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1957. Pp. xviii, 714. $8.95.)

EVERY American of a certain age is sure to find that this book rehearses his life. In part the effect is due to the ubiquitous role the Ford car played in American history and to the multitude of the interests, mostly well-publicized, of its inventor and maker. The concept with which Nevins and Hill have written this book and the manner in which they have done so also explain the impression of personal participation. For this is business history that cannot be criticized for sticking singly to business. The volume covers the general history of the automobile and provides considerable detail about Ford's rivals. Its narrative style has both a pictorial quality and the ability to create and sustain suspense.

In the limited terms of the firm and of Ford as "an industrial angel, bringing light and order to dark places," the volume centers on the construction of the plant on the River Rouge, the acme of industrial flow, of which the authors make almost a mystique, and the crucial change from Model T to Model A. There is also a narrative of other enterprises—the Lincoln car, the Stout airplane, the tractor, the E boats of World War I, the huge rubber plantation on the Amazon, the small town industries, and the expansion of the Ford empire overseas. In this period, too, fall such extracurricular activities as the peace ship, the Wayside Inn, square dancing, Greenfield Village, the diffident entrances into politics, the Chicago *Tribune* libel suit, and the Dearborn *Independent*. Revealing portraits of Ford's associates and the story of their frequent internecine warfare are included.

Seventeen years ago Nevins published his first biography of Rockefeller. By placing his central figure in the full context of his times and by examining all the material, Nevins succeeded in making one of the most execrated of American business leaders understandable and even magnificent. He has not been able to accomplish the same miracle here. Perhaps the subject does not respond to the same treatment. Ford, in spite of frequent emphasis on his creativity, vision, mechanical integrity, and personal kindliness, remains one of the most frightening

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individuals ever elevated by private enterprise into a position of power. Convinced that one-man government was the best way to get things done, Ford came to believe that his own intuitions were an infallible guide to action and policy. As a company leader he was dogmatic; he ruled his associates by methods that often verged on the sadistic and sometimes went beyond it; he disengaged himself from mistakes with an abruptness almost neurotic. He knew better than his agents the kind of car people ought to want and clung too long to the Model T. He could not conceive that his workers might have interests different from his own. A welfare service, well intentioned in the beginning and with possibly creditable achievements, degenerated under an associate of gangsters into a means of disciplining petty offenses with discharges and of crushing the unions. Nevins says Ford had an "untutored mind." Perhaps, if he had gone to college, he might have avoided the naïveté of the peace ship and the anti-Semitic bigotry of the Dearborn *Independent* and might have expressed more sophisticated opinions about art and history. But his defects ran deeper than upbringing and education. They seem defects of character. He committed the cardinal sin against the democratic spirit—he knew what was good for people better than they did themselves. Appropriately, Nevins concludes his volume with a brief comparison of Ford and Mussolini. It is not reassuring, in this connection, to have been told several times in the course of the book that Ford in his contradictions, shortcomings, and idiosyncrasies simply mirrored the American people.

*Bowdoin College* EDWARD C. KIRKLAND

FARM CRISIS, 1919–1923. By *James H. Shideler.* (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1957. Pp. x, 345. $5.00.)

THIS book on the farm crisis after World War I spells out in great and precise detail the many different efforts made by the United States farmers to meet a situation of rapidly falling prices. As one who was a farm paper editor during this period, who was secretary of the Corn Belt Meat Producers' Association, and who attended and to some extent acted in many of the key farm meetings of the period I can say without reservation that I found the account exceedingly accurate. It is amazing that one who did not take part in the events narrated could capture the spirit of the times with such fidelity.

Sketched out as background is what Shideler calls the "Golden Age" of American agriculture, the years from 1909 to 1914, when every economic force was properly balanced. During the period beginning in 1919 the farmers looked back on this period of what they felt to be "normalcy" with utmost longing. Shideler then describes what different types of people tried to do to help the farmer, writhing under the pain of approaching bankruptcy, to regain the "Garden of Eden" of 1909–1914. Parenthetically, I may say that those who lived through this "Golden Age" on the farm did not look on it at the time as so altogether

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golden; it was only in retrospect and by way of contrast that it became suffused with a rosy hue.

When real farm troubles began to come over the horizon in 1919, many types of farm leaders and movements sprang up over night. Shideler makes these leaders and groups come alive. Reading these pages, I can experience again the first days of the Farm Bureau meetings, the efforts of the Farmers' Union to hold up wheat prices by keeping wheat from market at a time of falling prices, the temporary enthusiasm sparked by the magnetic Aaron Sapiro as he endeavored to work out cooperatives for the different commodities with monopoly power. Because of the forceful methods used by the federal government to make farmers expand production during the war, the farmers faced by overproduction after the war looked to government for help in stopping the price decline that was ruining them. At first many farmers thought that if they could get a square deal from the railroads, the packing companies, the stockyards, the commission men, the elevator interests, and the grain exchange the farm problem would gradually solve itself. Shideler, who assigns a very prominent part to my father, Henry C. Wallace, both as secretary of agriculture and as a farm paper editor, is probably correct in assuming that in the early days of the Harding administration he was reluctant to go farther than the sponsoring of reform legislation of this type.

I was one of those who participated in the National Agricultural Conference in Washington in January, 1922, when the first postwar slump was hitting hardest. I realized that my father and Dr. Henry C. Taylor, head of the recently created Bureau of Agricultural Economics, were "babying" things along, allowing the farmers to blow off steam; Shideler infers as much. It was the only way the game could be played at that time, when a Republican administration had just come to power, with its essential control in the hands of men who knew little about farmers. Shideler states that A. Sykes, president of the Corn Belt Meat Producers' Association, delivered at this conference an address prepared in the Department of Agriculture, mentioning favorably the department's foreign market work and the program for adjustment of supply to demand in order to end price disparity. Actually, I had written the Sykes address, in my capacity as secretary of the Association. It was a low tariff speech, which I felt was appropriate for Sykes because he was a low tariff Democrat. Sykes was quite willing to deliver the speech as written, but in Washington my father completely revised it to make it innocuous. Father could not be blamed; he did what had to be done under existing political arrangements. It happened, however, that the Sykes speech ran in *Wallaces' Farmer* in its original version (this was before I knew it would be killed in Washington). Father was very decent about it all and merely said: "Henry, have a heart."

This particular incident is mentioned merely to indicate how completely I am in accord with Shideler's long-time point of view about the protective tariff in relation to the farm problem. Long before the Hawley-Smoot tariff, I attacked the tariff with

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utmost vigor as the source of farm troubles. George Peek, Bill Hirth (whom Shideler fails to mention), and Frank Murphy (also not mentioned) all were much disgusted with me, but I believed, as Shideler apparently does not, that it was necessary to build from both banks in order to get a bridge for the farmers to pass over. As long as high tariff sentiment was so strong among farmers and key industrialists in the Republican party, it was essential to work to make the tariff effective for farmers by giving them, through government, the moral, legal, and economic equivalent of what the tariff and the corporate form of organization give to industry. While I agree almost completely with Shideler on the facts, I do not go all the way with him in his conclusions that the farm problem can be cured by doing away with the protective tariff. At any rate, there are many intermediate stages, both political and economic.

Murray Benedict, in his *Farm Policies of the United States, 1790–1950* (1953), describes some personalities of the 1919–1923 period more adequately than does Shideler. The careful student will wish access to both books. Both are splendid.

*South Salem, New York* HENRY A. WALLACE

THE DEMOCRATIC ROOSEVELT: A BIOGRAPHY OF FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT. By *Rexford G. Tugwell.* (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company. 1957. Pp. 712. $8.50.)

THIS massive but absorbing study of Franklin D. Roosevelt falls within a special category among the myriad books dealing with the New Deal and the Second World War. It is far more history than memoir in comparison with other books by Roosevelt's associates (Mr. Tugwell comments that he is writing "as a historian of sorts"), yet at the same time, it is much more personal and subjective in its evaluation both of Roosevelt's character and of his policies than such biographies as those of Freidel or Burns. This is not to say that Mr. Tugwell is uncritical—he is no blind idolator of FDR—but his judgments are deeply colored by his intimate association with the President and by his own experience in Washington.

It is impossible in a brief review to give an adequate idea of the wealth of material in *The Democratic Roosevelt,* which is primarily analytical rather than descriptive or narrative. It may be said, however, that Tugwell is particularly interesting in his perceptive treatment of Roosevelt's childhood and youth, less rewarding than might have been expected in regard to the role of the "Brains Trust," highly informing in his account of Roosevelt's political maneuvering at the onset of the New Deal, and both brief and rather pedestrian in his coverage of foreign policy and the war years. The last section, only about one hundred pages, is indeed the weakest part of the book. For example, Tugwell easily dismisses such controversial issues as those raised by the Yalta Conference with the statement that Roosevelt was not asked to make concessions in any area vital to

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the United States and that "it is impossible to see anything in such claims but prejudice."

The author is unwilling to accept the usual generalizations about the complexity of Roosevelt's personality. The clue to his character, he believes, is found in a "compulsion to achievement." It first found expression in an unrelenting struggle for preference, for Roosevelt was slow in maturing, and later developed into an idealistic and irresistible drive to attain the goals the President held essential for the nation, both at home and abroad. There was often a flexibility about means that represented no more than mere opportunism, Tugwell further suggests, but he sees a fundamental consistency in Roosevelt's basic goals, bolstered by an unassailable confidence in their ultimate attainment.

In his comments on some of his colleagues in the New Deal, Tugwell is sharp and caustic. Ickes: "a whiner, an egotist, and an incorrigible empire builder"; Corcoran: "his malice and vindictiveness were well hidden under a jolly red-faced exterior"; Moley: "his natural kindness soured, his loyalty turned to hatred, and his progressivism turned to reaction"; Johnson: "less capacity for administration than for demagoguery."

His purpose in writing *The Democratic Roosevelt,* Tugwell says, was to interest "a new generation in the one man to whom no one in my generation was indifferent." Nevertheless, a good background knowledge is essential for understanding of the narrative, and the author makes no concessions to the general reader. His style can become rather involved, and except in a very moving account of Roosevelt's death, there is little of the literary about it. It may be finally noted for the professional historian that there is a minimum of documentation and a brief list of further readings instead of a bibliography.

*Ohio State University* FOSTER RHEA DULLES

AMÉRICA EN LA HISTORIA. By *Leopoldo Zea.* [Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Publicaciones de Dianoia, Centro de Estudios Filosóficos.] (Mexico, D.F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica. 1957. Pp. 278.)

LEOPOLDO ZEA, a Mexican philosopher who has won renown as an investigator of the history of ideas in Latin America, turns in this volume to a study of the relation between Latin America and the main stream of history. Pursuing this aim he is led on to propound a general philosophy of modern history.

Zea thinks of European Christian civilization as having reached a crisis in the era of the Reformation. After the failure of the Erasmian effort to arrive at an inclusive accommodation of the conflicting forces in that society, "modern" or "occidental" civilization emerged, principally in England, France, and Holland. The Iberian peoples regressed to a static defense of the older Christian order. Russia, a peripheral participant in the preceding civilization, tried to fit into the new "occidental" mold but was jealously excluded and isolated, as were Spain

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and Portugal. The main values of "modern" civilization were political democracy and the creation of wealth by liberating the energies of free individuals. Zea's concept of the rise of "modern" civilization owes much to Max Weber, his view of the evolution of liberalism to Harold Laski. He believes that Iberia, Latin America, Asia, and Africa have been exploited by "modern" peoples who enjoyed a monopoly of power and that the former have been unjustly denied, through the operation of a kind of double standard, the opportunities to develop the freedom, national independence, and economic progress that "modern" peoples considered valuable for themselves. The present conflict between Russia and the West, however, is not one between different civilizations, but a power struggle between the USSR and the United States for leadership of the West. Zea discusses those aspects of American life which have made the United States an object of suspicion and alarm to many European intellectuals. He maintains a deafening silence as to any possible deficiencies Russia might have as a leader of civilization. This viewpoint must be noted, but it would be wrong to emphasize it, for Zea is more interested in the relation between the rest of the world and the "occident" than he is in the cold war.

Man's hope, according to Zea, is the inclusion of all peoples in the new universal "modern" civilization. In order to achieve this end "modern peoples" must give up their habit of "denying" to other peoples the right to share equally in "western" values. If "modern" civilization would give up its exclusivism, the future of world civilization would be assured.

Zea owes much more to Hegel and to Toynbee than he does to Marx, though his views of imperialism have undoubtedly been influenced by Marxism. Like all these thinkers, he sees an overlying pattern in history to which particular events conform. This view of the past opens the way to tendencies that Huizinga has referred to as "inflation of terms, stereotypes, and anthropomorphism." The two former appear when Zea writes of "liberalism," "imperialism," and "colonialism"; he uses these words as if they were unchanging realities and to cover vast complexes of human social behavior. The latter tendency is exemplified in his use of the term "occidental civilization," an abstraction he suffuses with human will and emotion and describes as "excluding," "exploiting," and "denying."

The importance of this book lies in the fact that it presents a view of history that fits in with the view of the present held by thousands of politicians and intellectuals from Jakarta to Mexico City, including not a few continental Europeans. When Zea deplores the arrogance with which western European nations and the United States have assumed superiority and relegated other peoples and races to subordinate roles, he is on strong ground, though his attack might be made with equal justice on the possessors of power in previous crises in human history. To explain the difficulties Asian, African, and Latin American peoples have experienced in achieving their goals of economic and political equality with leading Western nations almost entirely in terms of Western exclusivism and exploitation,

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however, is a distortion of reality. It is unjustifiable to omit from consideration, or to brush off as impositions of the West, obstacles that are as much the result of traditional configurations of the cultures of these peoples as they are the consequences of external pressures. Though *América en la historia* is based on philosophical and historical assumptions and generalizations that many will find unacceptable, it is a stimulating and ingenious historical interpretation of the conflicts in the contemporary world and an illuminating example of a point of view of some importance in Latin America.

*Vassar College* CHARLES C. GRIFFIN

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# * * * Other Recent Publications * * *

## Books

## General History

THE MODERN RESEARCHER. By *Jacques Barzun* and *Henry F. Graff*. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1957. Pp. xiii, 386. $6.00.) Weary college teachers who have waited impatiently for the do-it-yourself mentality to move *their* consumers will hail the publication of this guide to historical research and writing. It will be used primarily as a manual for graduate students and upper-level undergraduates, for it is the only work, in this reviewer's knowledge at least, that carries the apprentice through all the stages of a historical paper or thesis, from the search for a topic through the exploration of materials to the canons of interpretation and composition. But if immediately serviceable as a manual, both the substance and the form of the book go far beyond this limited category. In its comprehensiveness the volume covers not only all the operations of research but also the whole hierarchy of problems inherent in it, from the simple technique of note taking to the complex considerations of truth, causation, laws, and patterns in history. In similar fashion the outer form of the book is pedagogical only in appearance. The general organization is indeed procedural, but within the sections each chapter is not so much a set of instructions as an essay in which the authors move easily among prescriptions, illustrations, *aperçus,* and meditations. The result is a model of intellectual flexibility and stylistic charm, which should persuade any perceptive student to do as Barzun and Graff do and not only as they say. The variety and attractiveness of the offerings provide a little something for everybody, and the professional historian too will profit as well as enjoy. The area of his benefit, rather surprisingly, lies not so much in the more philosophical sections of the book as in its operational suggestions, for they bring to awareness and reexamination external aids and mental processes that may have been too long assumed and at times slighted. Two nagging reservations diverted this reviewer from a wholehearted submission to the delights of *The Modern Researcher*. First, the prefatory claim that "this book is for anyone who is or will be engaged in research and report writing, regardless of his field of interest" is excessive when it is followed by a book that frequently goes beyond the common rules of disciplined knowledge to treat of problems peculiar to the historical discipline. The authors' argument that the attitudes and techniques of history are the "fundamental elements" of all research lacks the cogency and the self-critical sophistication that mark the rest of the book. Second, the reforming zeal and the painstaking labor that Barzun and Graff dedicate to the improvement of academic language are both valuable and necessary, but their repeated prohibitions and their argument from horrible example leave upon at least one reader an impression reminiscent of the itches and chills which used to follow perusal of symptoms in the home medical encyclopedia. But for the young in heart to whom the book is addressed, this strong medicine, so pleasingly coated, may well work a needed cure.

*Yale University* LEONARD KRIEGER

STUDIES PRESENTED TO SIR HILARY JENKINSON, C.B.E., LL.D., F.S.A. Edited by *J. Conway Davies*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1957. Pp. xxx, 494. $14.40.) For nearly fifty years Sir Hilary Jenkinson was connected with the British



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Public Record Office, where he became a familiar figure and a helpful guide, philosopher, and friend to a host of professional historians and others who had occasion to carry on researches there. At the same time, he was teaching paleography and diplomatic history at the universities of Cambridge and London and writing extensively on paleographical, archival, and more general historical subjects. When he resigned as deputy keeper of the public records in 1954, it was decided to present him a volume of studies by his former pupils and colleagues, and a small committee was set up with Professor T. F. T. Plucknett as chairman and J. Conway Davies as secretary and editor. The project has taken shape in a rather bulky volume consisting of twenty-five contributions, preceded by an unsigned memoir of Sir Hilary, written, we are told, by a colleague of many years' standing. The last of the contributions is a carefully prepared bibliography of Sir Hilary's writings. There seems to be no doubt that Jenkinson found his activities at the Public Record Office, closely related as they were to the productive historical scholarship of his time, of absorbing interest. In the words of the anonymous memoirist: "We see his development as scholar exploiting the records, teacher expounding them, archivist protecting them, and propagandist stirring public interest in them." He was, indeed, more than an archivist, but it was as an archivist that he liked especially to think of himself, and in what has become the recognized profession of archivist he has unquestionably been an outstanding leader. To quote his own words: "The Archivist's career is one of service. He exists in order to make other people's work possible. . . . His Creed, the Sanctity of Evidence; his Task, the Conservation of every scrap of Evidence attaching to the Documents committed to his charge; his Aim, to provide, without prejudice or afterthought, for all who wish to know the Means of Knowledge. . . . The good Archivist is perhaps the most selfless devotee of Truth the modern world produces." It is not to be expected that any unifying thread should run through such a *Festschrift* as the essays comprised in this volume, which are specialized studies with little or no interrelationship. Few persons, even among professional historians, are likely to read a volume of this nature from cover to cover. Some of the essays are valuable brief monographs, half or more of them falling within the confines of medieval English history.

*Pacific Palisades, California* ROBERT LIVINGSTON SCHUYLER

## Ancient and Medieval History

KLEINE KUNSTGESCHICHTE DER VORZEIT UND DER NATURVÖLKER. Edited by *Hans Weigert.* [Kleine Kunstgeschichte der Welt, Band 1.] (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag. 1956. Pp. 335.) There has been a considerable number of encyclopedic histories of art in various languages, produced by the collaboration of specialized scholars, each of whom has been responsible for an entire volume covering some period or phase. Until recently the small, one-volume surveys have been the work of a single author, on the tacit assumption that such a rapid conspectus is within the competence of any well-equipped general scholar. The present work conforms to a more modern conviction that even the concise handbook should be a collaborative project. In little more than three hundred pages, the Mediterranean and continental European art of prehistoric ages and the temporally less remote artistic productions of the more important cultures outside the great stream of civilization have been discussed and illustrated in eight brief chapters; each chapter has been contributed by a different specialist of outstanding competence for his restricted area. The result gains greatly in authority, but it is the authority of the encyclopedia, lacking the unity of style, treatment, and personality that would hold such a text together and make it continuously

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readable. Quite naturally, each writer has condensed his material to the utmost in order to include the most possible in the limited space assigned to him. In consequence, this brief volume may be described as first-rate in its accuracy and up-to-date competence; as a *multum in parvo* of great scope it should be extremely useful to those who can absorb information in such concentrated form and move without mental malaise through ten thousand years of Europe or stray without confusion from the steppes to the tropics, from precolonial America to the East Indies and the South Pacific. But perhaps the opinion may be hazarded that only the reader who is already fairly familiar with all these topics collectively can with entire profit read these summaries written by experts who know still more about each of them individually. It should be added, for the benefit of those who are attracted, that the copious illustrations have been well selected and uniformly well reproduced and that the German, though necessarily technical in spots, is seldom troublesomely involved or needlessly difficult. Granted the specific task set, it would be hard to perform it better. There are two companion volumes already in print, one by Zschietzmann on the art of Greece and Rome and one on European art by Hans Weigert, the editor of the present book. These are to be followed by a final collaborative volume on the art of the major non-European civilizations.

*Downington, Pennsylvania* RHYS CARPENTER

FROM THE TABLETS OF SUMER: TWENTY-FIVE FIRSTS IN MAN'S RECORDED HISTORY. By *Samuel Noah Kramer.* (Indian Hills, Colo.: Falcon's Wing Press. 1956. Pp. xxv, 293. $5.00.) Professor Kramer, a leading Sumerologist of our time, distinguished by his productivity, lucidity, and awareness of the significant, has frequently predicted that the translation and elucidation of the Sumerian literary texts would prove to be a major contribution of this century to the humanities. This book, which brings together "for the layman, humanist, and scholar" selections from his researches published in a variety of monographs and journals during the past two decades, convincingly substantiates his claim. Even though, as Jakob Burckhardt once stated, history is one field of study in which one cannot begin at the beginning, this volume demonstrates persuasively that historians seeking "firsts" in man's recorded past must take into account the Sumerian contributions in such areas as cosmology and cosmogony, primitive democracy, power politics, moral ideas, social justice, and the writing of history. Yet Kramer adds that such "firsts" are secondary and accidental and that the main purpose of the book is "to present a cross section of the spiritual and cultural achievements of one of man's earliest and most creative civilizations." Each of the twenty-five chapters follows the same basic pattern: first an account of the provenance, character, and history of the pertinent cuneiform text, then an elucidation of the nature and significance of its contents, and finally, in most cases, a translation of all, or the more significant and intelligible portions, of the original text. The voluminous annotation of the original publications are here omitted, but these versions are usually cited. An introduction describes concisely the progress and problems of Sumerology, and the second of two appendixes contains some bibliographical data along with comments on the eighty-one illustrations, most of which are photographs or line drawings of the pertinent cuneiform tablets. There is no index.

*Tulane University* NELS M. BAILKEY

DER STAAT DER GRIECHEN. Teil I, DER HELLENISCHE STAAT. By *Victor Ehrenberg.* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner Verlagsgesellschaft. 1957. Pp. 122. DM 9.) In 1932 Professor Ehrenberg, now of the University of London, published *Der griechische und der hellenistische Staat* in Gercke-Norden's *Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft,*

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Volume III. His present book represents the first part of the earlier work, thoroughly revised; the second part, *Der hellenistische Staat,* will appear soon. As Ehrenberg himself says, this is still a handbook, devoted to the political forms that developed from the Greek immigration into the Aegean area, but it is especially welcome because of the author's sound scholarship and general good judgment and caution. Recent studies, particularly of excavations and inscriptions, are reflected throughout. The concluding thirteen pages, "Zur Forschung," constitute a remarkably useful and stimulating excursus on the ancient sources and modern literature. The titles of the three chapters, each of which has several subdivisions, indicate Ehrenberg's approach: "Das Werden der griechischen Staatenwelt" (a sketch of state development in the light of geographical, ethnic, religious, social, and political forces); "Die Polis" (its nature, population, assemblies, offices, law, duties, etc.); "Staatenbund und Bundesstaat" (amphictyonies, symmachies, leagues). Widespread urban settlement was as decisive in the development of the Greek polis as geography. Foreign influences are also evaluated, but the political contribution of the monarchical territorial state of the East, and even that of the Minoans and Mycenaeans, was less than sometimes supposed. In his scrutiny of the Greek world, Ehrenberg emphasizes the multiplicity and variety of the Greek constitutions, and yet he strives constantly to bring out the organization of the "typical." Since no book of this high caliber and brief scope exists in English, it is good news indeed that he is preparing an English translation. The American undergraduate, however, will find it easier to place the book in focus with the addition of a summary section, devoted to a single state such as Athens which, if not typical, was at least great.

*Brown University* C. A. Robinson, Jr.

THE GREEK AND MACEDONIAN ART OF WAR. By *F. E. Adcock.* [Sather Classical Lectures, Volume 30.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1957. Pp. vi, 109. $3.00.) Here is a book—an all too short book—for the military specialist, the classicist, and the general reader who appreciates clear and sparkling prose. In the opinion of the reviewer Professor Adcock has accomplished a rare thing in that he has combined mature scholarship with eminent readability, qualities that do not always go hand in hand. *The Greek and Macedonian Art of War* is not, as the size of the volume indicates, an exhaustive treatment of the subject. It is a handbook on the art of war as practiced by the Greeks and Macedonians from the hoplite armies of the city-states to the collapse of the successor kingdoms before the inexorable advance of Rome—a period of some four hundred years. In an informal manner, but with thorough documentation, Adcock outlines the genesis of the military art in the city-state era, the development of infantry and cavalry, and the scientific combination of the two arms by Philip of Macedon. Consideration is given to the use made of this new striking force by Alexander and the successors. One chapter is confined to the evolution of marine warfare; the somewhat unorthodox views expressed may not find universal acceptance. The two concluding chapters are devoted to analyses of strategy and tactics. Very rightly the influence of finance upon strategy is emphasized; this influence is not always properly understood for a period during which war was conducted on a strictly cash basis. Other factors determining strategy—geography, manpower, subversion, and diplomatic activity—are scrutinized at some length, only a third of the chapter being given to the problems of field strategy. While the art of generalship is incidentally considered throughout the book, Adcock concludes with a chapter on "Generalship in Battle." These fifteen-odd pages can be read with profit by the student of small-unit operations even today. Were the reviewer teaching tactics, this chapter would be required reading. No military historian should be without this volume.

*Woman's College, University of North Carolina* John Beeler

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LA PREMIÈRE CAMPAGNE DE CÉSAR CONTRE LES GERMAINS, 58 AVANT JÉSUS-CHRIST. By *Raymond Schmittlein.* [Travaux et Mémoires des Instituts Français en Allemagne, Number 6.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1957. Pp. 194. 1,000 fr.) It seems improbable that a member of Congress will ever write a scholarly monograph in Roman history. The author of this book is a deputy (RPF, Belfort) and was a member of Mendès-France's cabinet. A scholar and educational administrator, he has written a dozen books on literary and historical subjects. This new study of a topic often investigated is surprisingly fresh and valuable. The author has a lively mind and skillfull pen; he is intimately acquainted with the topography; and he has been both a soldier, fighting in this same region, and a military historian. The book is meant primarily for the general educated reader, who is naturally assumed to know Roman history well. The first part of the work includes Caesar's intervention in Gaul, sympathetically and credibly presented, the rise of the Suebi under Ariovistus, and their settlement in Gaul, the character of which Schmittlein compares with barbarian settlements in the later Roman empire. The second part is an excellent account, a solid, realistic reconstruction, of Caesar's army, and the last part covers the campaign itself. The decisive battle, conceived as another Austerlitz, Schmittlein locates in his own district at Belfort, agreeing with Napoleon if few others. The plates, including several aerial photographs, are pertinent and valuable. The volume has a bibliography but no index. There is space here for comment on only a few points. The passage cited from Tacitus on page 101 is hardly evidence for the strength of a century. More important, the location of Ariovistus' great victory of *Admagetobriga* at Magdeburg rather than in Gaul seems unlikely. Excavation and further study of the tower *la Miotte* and the graves at Belfort are needed to test Schmittlein's case for placing the battle there. Finally, the thesis that Caesar, in his writings as well as in his conquests, arbitrarily and artificially divided one people into two and in effect created Gaul and Germany is at best only partly true and leads to dubious conclusions. The thesis is of course attractive to a good European and is in some ways more reasonable than the romantic nationalism of Jullian, which Schmittlein rejects.

*State University of Iowa* J. F. Gilliam

THE OFFICIUM OF THE URBAN PREFECTURE DURING THE LATER ROMAN EMPIRE. By *William Gurnee Sinnigen.* [Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome, Volume XVII.] (Rome: the Academy. 1957. Pp. iii, 123.) The urban prefect at Rome was one of the few officials whose prestige and functions continued largely unimpaired after the reforms of Diocletian and Constantine. A great minister of state surpassed in dignity only by the praetorian prefects, he was not only the emperor's vicar in the municipal government of Rome but also president of the senate and liaison officer between the emperor and the senatorial aristocracy. He had a numerous staff to aid him in his multifarious duties, which included trying lawsuits, collecting taxes, keeping records, suppressing crime and riots, and even supervising out-of-town students in boarding houses in Rome, to see that they studied hard and did not hold too many drunken parties. This work treats the organization and function of the urban prefect's staff and its intricate and often confusing relations to other branches of the proliferous bureaucracy of the late empire. It is not a general study of the urban prefecture and its holders or a narrative account of its development on the lines of the old treatise by Vigneaux (1896) or Giovanni Vitucci's recent (1956) monograph on the same office under the early empire. Sinnigen concentrates on the *officium,* which earlier scholars had discussed briefly and treated as similar to the praetorian *officium.* He shows that this was not always the case and that some other widely held views con-

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cerning the urban prefect's *officiales* are wrong or only partly correct. This is a closely reasoned and documented piece of administrative history. It is written for the specialist (though it does have a glossary of technical terms), and readers not already familiar with late Roman government will find it hard to follow. References to the general history of the declining empire are only incidental. The period covered is that from Diocletian to Justinian, whose Gothic War seems to have given its death blow to the urban prefecture at Rome.

*University of Louisville* LAURENCE LEE HOWE

AN ANGLO-SAXON AND CELTIC BIBLIOGRAPHY (450–1087), with INDICES. By *Wilfrid Bonser*. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1957. Pp. xxxvii, 574; 123. $18.50 the set.) Designed to complement, but not to replace, the Anglo-Saxon sections of Charles Gross, *Sources and Literature of English History,* this bibliography is basically an unannotated and uncritical listing of the articles that have appeared in 376 periodicals and 46 collections of essays. Mr. Bonser, the former librarian of the University of Birmingham, has systematically searched local and national British and foreign journals and proceedings and transactions of societies, running from *Aberystwyth Studies* to *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen,* up to 1953. To this basic structure, he has added a considerable number of books, largely those that have appeared since the publication of Gross in 1915. He has cast a wide net, covering for all the British Isles not only political, constitutional, social, and ecclesiastical history but also all the essential auxiliary studies, except those strictly literary or linguistic. The comprehensive scope produces a listing of over twelve thousand items for the period from 450 to 1087. Full indexes for author, subject, and place-names are provided in a separate volume. Omissions and misprints in bibliographical detail appear to be few and are easily rectified. The careful inventory of the numerous articles in many diverse periodicals constitutes a benefaction for which all historians of the Anglo-Saxon period will express their gratitude to Bonser. This laborious task has not been done previously and need not be done again. Users of Bonser's bibliography must, however, bear in mind the limitations that the compiler imposed upon himself. Articles in periodicals normally provide commentaries on sources rather than editions of texts. Indeed, the cataloguing of editions of sources which can be found in Gross, Kenney, or Potthast did not fall within Bonser's plan. Recent editions have been listed, but in the absence of a recent edition, the source itself is not represented, although commentaries on it are included. Thus, for example, editions of Asser, Gildas, Nennius, Symeon of Durham, and Textus Roffensis are entirely omitted, but commentaries on these works find their place. The inclusion of guides to current periodical literature would have enhanced the usefulness of this indispensable bibliography.

*Hamilton College* E. B. GRAVES

THE LIFE OF EDWARD THE SECOND BY THE SO-CALLED MONK OF MALMESBURY. Translated from the Latin with introduction and notes by *N. Denholm-Young*. [Nelson's Medieval Texts.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1957. Pp. xxviii, 295. $4.00.) This is one of the most important sources for the reign of Edward II. Both title and suppositious author are old errors, as the present editor makes clear; the work is not a vita at all, but a memoir of the reign. The author was as much concerned with Edward's enemies as he was with the king. Mr. Denholm-Young in his introduction repeats his argument for attributing the work to Master John Walwayn, D.C.L., canon of Hereford and St. Paul's, justice, ambassador, and treasurer. One is thus provided with a picture of the retired politician setting down his memoirs in his last

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years. The text here presented is excellent, and the translation, if not flawless, is very smooth. Every student of the period will find himself obliged to have this volume.

*University of Connecticut* FRED A. CAZEL, JR.

THE DE MONETA OF NICHOLAS ORESME AND ENGLISH MINT DOCUMENTS. Translated from the Latin with introduction and notes by *Charles Johnson.* [Nelson's Medieval Texts.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1956. Pp. xli, 114. $3.20.) The aim of this volume, another in the series of medieval texts edited by V. H. Galbraith and R. A. B. Mynors, is to give an account of the theory and practice of coinage in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The text of *De Moneta* by Nicholas Oresme illustrates the theory as derived from Aristotle's *Politics.* To present the practice, Mr. Johnson uses the treatise presumably written by William de Turnemire, master of the mint in 1279, and preserved in the *Red Book of the Exchequer,* together with other entries relating to the coinage found in three Exchequer manuscripts and in chartularies of the abbey of Bury St. Edmunds. As is usual in this series, the Latin text and the English translation are printed on facing pages. The texts have been edited with impeccable scholarship, and the translation, for the *De Moneta* the first in English of any significance, is the work of an able Latinist. In an illuminating introduction Johnson gives a brief history of the English coinage from the conquest to the fourteenth century, as background for the English mint documents, and Mynors discusses the extant manuscript and early printed copies of the *De Moneta.* Two appendixes, one giving excerpts from the French version of the *De Moneta,* the other listing officers of the mint, and a useful index conclude the volume.

*Rockford College* ISABEL ABBOTT

BRADWARDINE AND THE PELAGIANS: A STUDY OF HIS "DE CAUSA DEI" AND ITS OPPONENTS. By *Gordon Leff.* [Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, New Series, Volume V.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1957. Pp. 282. $6.00.) This careful examination should dispel the facile notion that with Aquinas' death in 1274 medieval theology was fixed immutably. The Oxonian master—and later archbishop of Canterbury—Thomas Bradwardine (ca. 1290–1349) was not a major figure, yet the nearly nine hundred folio pages of his *De Causa Dei* (published in 1344) abound in vigorous theses. The first half of Dr. Leff's work is a lengthy analysis of Bradwardine's treatise, which establishes God's existence and attributes in Book I, treats of human free will in Book II, and attempts a reconciliation of man's freedom with the overwhelming power of the divine will in Book III. The second part of the study concerns the viewpoints of the adversaries (Durandus of St. Pourçain, Ockham, etc.), whom Bradwardine styles Pelagians. Many of Bradwardine's positions are traditional, though there is originality as well. He employs both St. Anselm's ontological proof and the Aristotelian-Thomistic concept of an unmoved Mover in proving the existence of God. Because he holds that the divine will is the source of the divine knowledge of creatures, he propounds the principle of divine participation, whereby God is the first and the direct cause of all creaturely action. Ultimately, this leads to the thesis that men's future actions are as much determined as their past and that, therefore, they cannot not come about. Throughout, Bradwardine stresses God's absolute sovereignty. This, along with his rejection of metaphysics as an independent method of getting at truth (Bradwardine "makes all truth, in effect, theological: dogma and certainty are his means of arguments; he allows no place to speculation"), foreshadows, as Leff suggests, the Reformed theologians of the sixteenth century. When the same impression is gained from the summary of Bradwardine's teaching on justification, however, the difficulty is with Leff, who here fails to integrate into his account Bradwardine's

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doctrine on sanctifying grace as a *habitus,* which is poles apart from Luther's mature thinking on justification (cf. U. Saarnivaara, *Luther Discovers the Gospel* [St. Louis, Mo., 1951]).

*Immaculate Conception Seminary, Darlington, New Jersey* HENRY G. J. BECK

PETRARCH'S TESTAMENT. Edited and translated with introduction by *Theodor E. Mommsen.* (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1957. Pp. viii, 93. $3.50.) The personality of Petrarch has for centuries attracted the interest of scholars, an interest, one might add, fully shared by Petrarch himself. During the past hundred years, since Georg Voigt pointed to Petrarch's self-conscious personality as the most significant achievement of that "ancestor of the modern world," many historians have recognized in his intense self-awareness one of the distinguishing characteristics of the Renaissance. His Last Will and Testament, drawn up in 1370, is therefore a document that any student of the period will be glad to have available. It is, as one might expect, a very personal document, revealing in every clause some facet of its author's character. Acquisition by the Cornell University Library of the *editio princeps* of the Testament, printed in Venice in 1499 or 1500, was the occasion that called Professor Mommsen's attention to the need for a scholarly edition. The original manuscript, written in Petrarch's own hand, seems to have disappeared shortly after the poet's death, and there is considerable variation in the text of the surviving manuscript copies and in the printed versions. The most important of these are here collated and the variant readings noted. Mommsen has also furnished a translation, the first into English, and a fully documented introduction that analyzes and explains the provisions of the Will and places the whole in its historical setting. Anyone familiar with the editor's erudition will need no assurance that the scholarly apparatus is impeccable.

*University of Western Ontario* WALLACE K. FERGUSON

L'IMPERO FIORENTINO. By *Warman Welliver.* [Storici Antichi e Moderni, Nuova serie, Number 10.] (Florence: La Nuova Italia. 1957. Pp. xi, 280. L. 2,500.) Since the time of Voltaire, the Age of Lorenzo has found its mirror image in the Athens of Pericles. Appropriately, therefore, the author of this study has paralleled the Thucydidean epic and has given the last decades of the *quattrocento* a similarly tragic form. Beset by adversity, Lorenzo, in the guise of Minerva, triumphs over his nemesis, the Pazzi and the papacy, and saves his beloved city. Then he sets out to extend his victory through the founding of a Florentine empire. This involves the regeneration of the "old church" and the establishment of a "new state." In order to achieve these ends it is necessary for Lorenzo to isolate the Holy See, to persuade the *tirannelli* of the Patrimony to accept the dominion of Florence, and ultimately to convince Naples to acknowledge the formal sovereignty of a Rome now infiltrated with Medicean ecclesiastics. At the apogee of his power, Lorenzo, like his antique counterpart Pericles, is struck down, and his notion of *L'Impero Fiorentino* is doomed. Like Buser, in his *Lorenzo de'Medici als Italienischer Staatsmann,* the author chooses to dismiss Machiavelli, Guicciardini, Rucellai, and other interpreters of the career of Lorenzo. These men saw *Il Magnifico* as a conciliator, a promoter of alliances, and a champion of the balance of power. Mr. Welliver disagrees with this point of view and attempts to support his case by presenting evidence from the art, poetry, philosophy, and diplomatic correspondence of the times. Even if we grant him his interpretation and reject Panofsky, Cassirer, and others, it is well to remember that both Welliver and Buser are concerned with the intellectualization and rationalization of Lorenzo's policies rather than with his *realpolitik.* This is an opinion that deserves to be heard. It does not merit, however, a rejection of past scholarship and Renaissance historiography. It appears to this reviewer that the political philosophy of

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Lorenzo and his circle was essentially Neoplatonic and contemplative. While this "timeless world of ideas" attracted the interest of Lorenzo, it did not appear to have unduly influenced his political actions.

*Western Reserve University* MARVIN B. BECKER

LA MAISON DE SAVOIE: LES ORIGINES, LE COMTE VERT–LE COMTE ROUGE. By *Marie José*. Preface by *Benedetto Croce*. (Paris: Albin Michel. 1956. Pp. 425. 1,200 fr.) This is the French version of a work published in Italy under the title *Amedeo VI e Amedeo VII di Savoia*. Its author is the ex-queen of Italy, Marie José, wife of Humbert II, who has lived in Switzerland with her son since the fall of the monarchy in 1946 and has utilized her proximity to the archives of Chambéry to reconstruct the political careers of two Savoyard counts of the second half of the fourteenth century—Amadeus VI, the "Green Count," who gave up the attempt to resurrect the old kingdom of Arles and reoriented Savoyard policy toward Italy instead, and Amadeus VII, the "Red Count," who added Nice to his dominions. A second volume, on Amadeus VIII, in which the emphasis will be on social and cultural history, is promised. The present book is lacking in organic quality, a defect which is partly to be explained by the nature of the documents. But it is by no means a superficial popularization; it shows considerable industry and knowledge of the sources and displays the apparatus of scholarship in the form of footnotes and appendixes. In her preface the author acknowledges her indebtedness to many French and Italian scholars, whose works are listed in an extensive bibliography. The late Benedetto Croce, with whom Marie José had personal and political ties, contributed a graceful introduction to the anticipated work of his disciple, in which he pays homage to the historical role of the House of Savoy. According to a recent biographer of Marie José, her research was prompted in part by the desire to educate her son in the past glories of his family. The resulting book obviously has political overtones, but this does not affect the treatment of the subject. For critical and interpretive accounts of this period in Savoyard history, historians will continue to turn to the standard works of Gabotto and Cognasso. Marie José's book will be useful, however, for its detailed if somewhat colorless factual narrative, its up-to-date bibliography of early Savoyard and Piedmontese history, its twenty-two genealogical tables of the medieval House of Savoy and its related dynasties (by the fourteenth century it had already ramified over much of Europe), and its charming reproductions, mostly of manuscript illuminations, from the archives of Zurich, Chambéry, and elsewhere.

*Carleton College* CATHERINE E. BOYD

THE TRAVELS OF LEO OF ROZMITAL THROUGH GERMANY, FLANDERS, ENGLAND, FRANCE, SPAIN, PORTUGAL AND ITALY, 1465–1467. Translated from the German and Latin and edited by *Malcolm Letts*. [Hakluyt Society Publication, Second Series, Number CVIII.] (New York: Cambridge University Press for the Society. 1957. Pp. xv, 196. $6.50.) Leo of Rozmital was the brother-in-law of George Podiebrad, king of Bohemia. The trip described in this book may have been a diplomatic mission, related to Podiebrad's efforts to effect a reconciliation with the papacy; there is no mention of this in the text, however. The story of Rozmital's travels was written down by two members of his suite, Tetzel and Schaseck. Tetzel's account forms the basis of this edition; Schaseck's is used for supplementary material. The writers have given us vivid impressions of the lands through which they passed, ranging from the wealth and splendor of the court of Burgundy to the poverty, barrenness, and disorder of Spain. In Spain and Portugal, they noticed the effects of Jewish and Moorish customs on the Christians. They were the first travelers, according to the editor, to refer to the importance of sheep raising to the English economy. As pious

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Catholics, they described the famous shrines that they visited. They met and observed the most powerful rulers of the day, and some who were less powerful. At all times, they had a keen eye for beautiful women. The text is admirably edited in every way; altogether, it is a valuable and fascinating book.

*University of Kansas* WILLIAM GILBERT

LATE MEDIEVAL MYSTICISM. Edited by *Ray C. Petry*. [The Library of Christian Classics, Volume XIII.] (Philadelphia: Westminster Press. 1957. Pp. 424. $5.00.) The Library of Christian Classics, to consist of twenty-six volumes, most of which are now available, is an important addition to the work of offering in English translations significant sources of the past. The present volume is the thirteenth in the series and contains thirteen selections, each edited by a different scholar, from contemplative writings of such mystics as Bernard of Clairvaux, Francis of Assisi, Meister Eckhart, Nicholas of Cusa, Luther, and Calvin. The excerpts are generally taken from well-known translations and seem well chosen to the theme of the volume. The general introduction and the introductions to the individual selections are stimulating and helpful. There is an able summary of the various interpretations that the term "mysticism" has undergone and of its relation to asceticism and renunciation, with a résumé of the ideas on this theme from Plato to Bernard. The bibliographical essays furnish a useful guide for further studies. This work should prove useful, especially for students in divinity schools.

*Indiana University* JOHN C. ANDRESSOHN

# Modern History

## BRITISH EMPIRE, COMMONWEALTH, AND IRELAND

THE ENGLISH WOMAN IN HISTORY. By *Doris Mary Stenton*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1957. Pp. viii, 363. $8.00.) Those who know Lady Stenton's work as an English medievalist will find this foray into women's history disappointing. A distinguished editor of twelfth- and thirteenth-century judicial records and author of a solid and readable survey of early medieval society in the popular Pelican series, she unfortunately approaches her new subject in a spirit of antiquarianism. As she tells us in her preface, rummaging through booksellers' shelves and catalogues for rare books about women has been the hobby of years. Her own book is little more than a series of précis of such items, many of which have been described before in works by Myra Reynolds, Louis B. Wright, I. B. O'Malley, and others. Through almost the whole sweep of English history, from early Anglo-Saxon to mid-Victorian times, Lady Stenton has made her own way, seeking no aid from secondary works in evaluating her sources and placing them in perspective or in bridging gaps. She has less need of help in the earlier chapters. Here the student of women's history will find the most useful sections of the book. Lady Stenton draws together the few surviving scraps of information about Anglo-Saxon women and ably interprets them. She offers interesting conclusions, drawn from her own findings in the early assize rolls, on the deterioration of the lady's legal position following the Norman introduction of feudalism, and presents some solid evidence from the same source on the status of the later medieval noblewoman and countrywoman. Yet she leaves the Middle Ages without devoting a line to the townswoman, although Annie Abram and Sylvia L. Thrupp have published well-documented information on this subject. As Lady Stenton moves into the modern period her preoccupation with primary sources increasingly betrays her. For example, she can offer as historical fact the account of Aphra Behn's career given in her first biography (1698),

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when recent scholarship has demonstrated it to be largely a tall tale. Or she can write an account of Hannah More without touching upon the Evangelical movement (with its profound effect on women's lives), though she refers to M. G. Jones's fine biography, which admirably relates the two. On every level Lady Stenton's book lacks focus. Handicapped by the author's clumsy literary style and incoherent organization, the reader loses his way on every page. He flounders in trivial details: long catalogues of livestock bequeathed in medieval wills, a list of the duties of Queen Anne's bedchamber ladies, digressions into the innumerable family connections of female notables. Nor does he find any sustained analysis to light his way through these crowded chapters. So far as the author has any thesis, it is the conventional feminist view of women's history as a toilsome progress from medieval "subjection" to modern "emancipation." In proof, she seemingly finds it sufficient to demonstrate that an increasing number of women in each era have won prominence of one sort or another. Lady Stenton may have unearthed a few new candidates for the feminist hall of fame; she has added little to our understanding of the historical forces that shaped their lives and those of less conspicuous contemporaries.

*New York, New York* JANET WILSON JAMES

ENGLISHMEN AND OTHERS. By *A. J. P. Taylor.* (London: Hamish Hamilton. 1956. Pp. vii, 192. 18*s.*) Of these thirty-odd occasional papers by A. J. P. Taylor, all but one have been printed elsewhere; the exception, "John Bright and the Crimean War," was first given as a public lecture. Most are brief commentaries on books that reveal as much or more of Taylor's own views as information about their contents. He ranges widely in time and subjects from the eighteenth century to the contemporary scene, from the French *philosophes* ("The Prophets of Man") and "William Cobbett" to Hitler ("The Twilight of the God") and the conduct of foreign policy. Only one, "The Conference at Algeçiras," on the first Moroccan crisis, is based upon extensive research, although the piece on John Bright shows what a penetrating mind can do with a few parliamentary speeches. With the author's purpose of discovering "how things happened and how men behaved," let the chips fall where they may, no one can take exception. Nowhere is the strait jacket of a schematic philosophy imposed upon history ("Economic Imperialism"). If there is much that is provocative—as he foresaw—not to say controversial, this largely results from pet phobias in regard to the British ruling classes and professional diplomats. Here Taylor is a born dissenter. "There is nothing more agreeable in life," he writes in connection with Cobbett, "than to make peace with the Establishment—and nothing more corrupting." For the claim that the diplomats should make foreign policy and that national interest should decide its aims, he has little but contempt ("Democracy and Diplomacy"); the people, in his view, "possess a collective wisdom which nearly always judges right." He prefers pub conversations (there is no mention of public opinion polls) to the advice of Foreign Office experts as the basis for deciding what the aims of foreign policy should be. Although he rightly downgrades purely diplomatic history and stresses the need of taking the influence of the armed services and of public opinion into account ("The Rise and Fall of Diplomatic History"), the article on Algeçiras is based entirely upon diplomatic documents and the sweeping condemnation of British policy in the Anglo-Soviet negotiations in 1939 as responsible for "the most incompetent transactions in British history since the loss of the American colonies" stands or falls upon similar evidence ("The Alliance that Failed"). His strictures upon newspapers as a historical source, while valid enough, are not too helpful and do not dispose of the problem. There is, of course, not a dull page in the book.

*Duke University* E. MALCOLM CARROLL

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THE TROUBLE MAKERS: DISSENT OVER FOREIGN POLICY, 1792–1939. By *A. J. P. Taylor.* [The Ford Lectures delivered in the University of Oxford in Hilary Term, 1956.] (London: Hamish Hamilton. 1957. Pp. 207. 18*s*.) Diplomatic histories too often equate the views of the Foreign Office with those of the whole nation; alternative policies are dismissed as insignificant or unpatriotic. Alan Taylor has attempted to redress this bias in British history by giving his attention to the nonconformists and their policies. The idealism and dissent of today, he argues, are often the realism and official policy of tomorrow. The one constant in the history of British foreign policy is that there are always important groups that oppose official policy in principle. The pursuit of this theme begins with Charles Fox and the early radicals and includes David Urquhart and his rival, Richard Cobden, Gladstone, the twentieth-century radicals, J. A. Hobson, H. N. Brailsford, Lowes Dickenson, E. D. Morel and the Union for Democratic Control, and finally the Labour critics of Conservative policy between the world wars. Dissent groups itself around two extremes. One urges nonintervention and calls for peace negotiations in time of war; the other presses for intervention and demands war for idealistic reasons. A true dissenter like Gladstone may take both positions in time, holding to his views with a dogmatic conviction and a fanatical distrust of the Foreign Office. As a clue to understanding this phenomenon Taylor suggests that hidden in each dissenter is a Fifth Monarchy man, struggling to get out. As the "Peck's Bad Boy" of British historians Taylor is ever ready to stick a deflating pin in his more pompous colleagues or to tip over the tribal idols of his profession. Having written what he calls "a respectable diplomatic history" (*The Struggle for Mastery in Europe, 1848–1918*), these lectures are offered as "a gesture of repentance." Conventions of sobriety and cautious generalization are cast aside as Taylor, in the tradition of dissent, strikes out at the "Establishment" of his profession. The result is a volume which will infuriate or delight the reader, according to his tastes. The reviewer recommends it for its brilliant half-truths and suggestive paradoxes. In an earlier book Taylor stated that "one is almost driven to postulate the general rule: the better written a book the more unreliable as history." This was, no doubt, a tongue-in-cheek statement, but it remains a proper caution for Taylor's own readers.

*Goucher College* WILLIAM L. NEUMANN

THE BRITISH TINPLATE INDUSTRY: A HISTORY. By *W. E. Minchinton.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1957. Pp. xiv, 286. $5.60.) This is an unusually fine history of an industry. The story of the tinplate industry in Britain from the Middle Ages to the present is discussed without omission of essentials. The book is especially well documented in those chapters dealing with the problems of markets, labor, finance, and technological change. The author has a most felicitous style. For the American economic historian, perhaps the most interesting chapters are those accounting for the rise and overnight success of our tinplate industry, through the protection given the domestic market by the McKinley tariff, and for the emigration from Wales to West Virginia and Pennsylvania of large numbers of skilled tinplate workers during the years between 1887 and 1895. The production and sales of British tinplate have followed the general pattern of rise and fall in the metal industry. After the prosperity of the free trade era came the collapse of foreign markets, and after World War I came a slow rehabilitation through protection and development of the domestic markets. Technological advance, represented by the strip mill imported from the United States, and the use of tinplate in the canning and food preservation industry following World War II have resulted in a concentration of mills in Wales; the industry is now in the hands of a few managements. This reviewer would like to have had more about the nineteenth-century financing of the industry through local bankers and individuals in the pages

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devoted to that problem. It appears that the technique of interviews with industrial leaders, often so helpful to the economic historian, was not used.

*Purdue University* ROBERT B. ECKLES

WILLIAM HARVEY: HIS LIFE AND TIMES, HIS DISCOVERIES, HIS METHODS. By *Louis Chauvois*. Foreword by *Sir Zachary Cope*. (New York: Philosophical Library. 1957. Pp. 271. $7.50.) The three hundredth anniversary in 1957 of William Harvey's death was signalized by the publication of this vivid biography in an English translation of the French original. Its author, now seventy-six years old, in 1955 received the Prix d'Histoire et de Philosophie des Sciences awarded by the Académie des Sciences for his papers on the history of medicine. Except for his biography of Professor d'Arsonval, Dr. Chauvois' previous books have been mainly on his professional specialty. He is the former directeur adjt. du Laboratoire de Physique Biologique des Hautes Études at Paris. Harvey has been Chauvois' hobby and his hero for more than thirty years. He has studied Harvey's books and his letters; he has sought out the writings of his predecessors and his contemporaries; he has traveled in recent years to places associated with Harvey from Padua and Venice to London and Essex. His medical knowledge and his evident competence in Latin support and amplify his translations of the sources and his tracing of Harvey's developing ideas about the circulation of the blood. His conclusion is that Harvey is "among the three or four master intelligences of all time." The organization of the book is clear cut. After an imaginary reconstruction of a day in Harvey's life in London at the height of his career, Chauvois presents the story of his life, then discusses his work and his methods and the opinions on them held by his contemporaries and successors. Finally he evaluates Harvey's discovery according to modern science and as a guide to physicians today. Here he emphasizes his interpretation of Harvey's conception of the heart as a motor furthering the circulation of blood that originates not in the heart but in the great *vena cava*. Written with verve and conciseness, the book is intended for the intelligent layman, to whom it should prove both useful and interesting. It is also valuable because other biographies of Harvey in English, those by Malloch (1929) and D'Arcy Power (1897), belong almost to another era. Chauvois brings to his subject both the science of the mid-century and recent scholarly research. The historian will welcome the evidence presented about the reception accorded Harvey's discovery in France, especially the facts about the significant help given its spread by court literary circles. At the same time he may regret the use of imaginary reconstructions, the insufficient data given in the bibliography, and the rather limited index. (That William Oughtred's last name is consistently misspelled may be the slip of the anonymous translator). He also may notice the limited reference to American scholarship, notably the lack of reference to Chauncey C. Leake's studies of *De Motu Cordis*. For students as well as for the general reader, however, Chauvois has performed a valuable service in presenting at this time a readable, well-substantiated account of one of the founders of modern science.

*Stonington, Connecticut* DOROTHY STIMSON

RICHARD BAXTER AND PURITAN POLITICS. Edited and with an introduction by *Richard Schlatter*. (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1957. Pp. 178. $4.50.) Richard Baxter is well known as the great Puritan preacher of mid-seventeenth-century England. As a conservative Puritan in politics who hated democracy and favored a limited monarchy of king, Lords, and Commons he is not nearly so familiar to students of the period. In this little book Professor Schlatter has presented, as far as it is possible, the political Baxter. But the saintly preacher could never separate

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church and state. In his opinion only the godly should govern, should elect and be elected to parliament. In the Dr. Williams's Library in London Schlatter found three unpublished letters of Baxter: one to Sir Edward Harley of 1656, another to John Swinfen of 1659, and the third to Thomas Bampfield of 1660. In these letters Baxter gives advice and opinion on the fluid political status of England in those critical years. The editor of this volume also discovered three of Baxter's unpublished pamphlets dealing with the political changes and crises of the years 1659, 1683, and 1691. To these he has added two chapters of Baxter's *A Holy Commonwealth,* published in only one edition of 1659, in which the famous Puritan has left in print his political views of the day. To present these seven writings of Richard Baxter to the reader, Schlatter has composed a splendid introductory essay in which he depicts with many quotations from Baxter's numerous other published works his political views and the nature of the man in the light of the changing politics of the era. It is to be hoped that the editor of this most helpful book, which is an excellent introduction to one aspect of Baxter's thought, will soon give us a much needed full-length biography of the man.

*New York University* HAROLD HULME

MEN AND POWER, 1917–1918. By *Lord Beaverbrook.* (London: Hutchinson and Company; distrib. by Duell, Sloan and Pearce, Inc., New York. 1956. Pp. xlii, 43–447. 25*s.*) A year after the Canadian-born Max Aitken entered the House of Commons in 1910, he became secretary to another Canadian, Bonar Law, the new leader of the Unionists. As Lord Beaverbrook, he was in Lloyd George's war coalition; then, after building his newspaper empire, he entered Churchill's war coalition. Thus his political career rotated around three different axes, and the greatest of these, by inference, was Churchill. *Men and Power* is not a continuation of *Politicians and the War, 1914–1916* (1928). Instead of recounting political events, Lord Beaverbrook treats the crises that grew out of these events and attempts to show how individuals met these crises. He obviously believes that great men make history. This personal narrative, he insists, is "entirely independent of party or personal affiliations." Mechanically the book has few faults. All but one of the two dozen photographs are well chosen. The chapter headings are lively, though one or two are obscure. The introduction contains excellent biographical sketches. The bibliography is impressive; the texts of documents in the appendix are informative, particularly the Derby letters. The use of letters as footnote indicators, however, is clumsy. Beaverbrook's preferences make his politicians all the more vivid. His dislike for Asquith carries over from his previous book, his continuing admiration for Bonar Law is well supported, and his qualified views about Churchill in 1928 give way to praise for the gigantic figure of another war. His satire on Curzon overlooks the groundwork for Rothermere and the coordination of the two air services. He ignores a real cabinet crisis and its source, Henderson and the Stockholm Conference. Too much credit goes to the role of a misplaced paper in saving the coalition and leading to the Liberal breakup. His treatment of Irish problems, of quarrels between generals and Lloyd George, of the hapless work of Derby, and, above all, of the king's quiet influence commands respect, for Beaverbrook was so often right.

*DePauw University* COEN G. PIERSON

THE FATEFUL YEARS: MEMOIRS, 1931–1945. By *Hugh Dalton.* (London: Frederick Muller Ltd. 1957. Pp. xvi, 19–493. 30*s.*) Dr. Hugh Dalton, one of the more robust leaders of the Labour party, was a colleague always outspoken and sometimes difficult. This second volume of his memoirs covers the period from the party's electoral debacle in 1931 to its great victory in 1945. There are frank observations on his colleagues

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and opponents, some of whom, such as Henderson and Bevin, fare better than others, e.g., Cripps and Laski. Dalton at first supported Morrison for the Labour leadership and found the choice of Attlee "a wretched, disheartening result," but he changed his opinion with the revelation of Attlee's capacity during the years of the war and his premiership. Dalton tells of his efforts to rouse his party to a greater sense of reality in foreign affairs. He joined with Bevin and Walter Citrine to get rid of the pacifist leadership and to convince the party of the need for rearmament. This group consistently opposed the Chamberlain policy, urged support for the Czechs, and battled for an Anglo-French-Soviet pact. It was due in large part to these men that Britain entered the war a united country. Dalton also relates the Labour party's decisive part in elevating Churchill to power and his own wartime service as minister of economic warfare and president of the Board of Trade. The final chapter on Labour in power contains the fullest account yet published of the last-minute switch in cabinet making that sent Dalton to the Exchequer and Bevin to the Foreign Office. The evidence presented is against the theory of influence from the palace or any other quarter. The decision was that of Attlee himself. Although for a moment shaken by Bevin's desire for the Exchequer, he reverted to his earlier plan largely because Bevin and Morrison, who unhappily always rubbed each other the wrong way, would probably not have worked well together on the home front. So it came about that Dalton was Attlee's first chancellor of the Exchequer. In the concluding volume of these memoirs it will be interesting to have Dalton's version of how he fared there.

*Stanford University* CARL F. BRAND

HISTORY OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR (United Kingdom Military Series). Edited by *J. R. M. Butler*. THE DEFENCE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM. By *Basil Collier*. (London: H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1957. Pp. xix, 557. $9.29 postpaid.) HISTORY OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR (United Kingdom Civil Series). Edited by *Sir Keith Hancock*. INLAND TRANSPORT. By *C. I. Savage*. (London: H. M. Stationery Office and Longmans, Green and Co.; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1957. Pp. xvii, 678. $8.84 postpaid.) The critical historian and general reader who wish to explore in detail the history of Great Britain in the Second World War may turn with confidence to such volumes as these. Each is a work of fine scholarship, based upon extensive exploitation of unpublished official sources; each is written incisively and attractively. Mr. Collier's narrative should capture a wide public; Mr. Savage's should appeal to economists, economic historians, and businessmen; but each author has much to offer any reflective reader, for sputnik has made modern technology and war inescapable problems for even the most other worldly. Collier has written the first official history of the defense of the United Kingdom during the critical years 1939–1945 from an interservice viewpoint. Three great dangers threatened Great Britain at that time: starvation through severance of sea communications, invasion, and air attack as a prelude to invasion. The first major danger has been analyzed by Captain Roskill, *The War at Sea,* and Miss C. B. A. Behrens, *Merchant Shipping and the Demands of War;* hence Collier devotes most of his volume to the other two great perils. In the first few chapters, he gives the background of British retrenchment, disarmament, and rearmament in the 1918–1938 period and analyzes the British military situation on the eve of war. He next presents the grim story of Operation "Sealion," the German plans and preparations for landing troops in Britain, and the steps taken by the British war cabinet, chiefs of staff, and commanders-in-chief of the home fleet, home forces, and fighter command to oppose them. Collier then gives a superb, richly documented account of the "Battle of Britain"—the Luftwaffe's attempt to gain air superiority over southern England and the English Channel

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and the air defense measures used so successfully by the British. The author also presents the little-known story of British air force activity after October, 1940, against less serious but harassing German air and submarine attacks upon Britain and British coastal shipping. In the last part of the book Collier contributes a valuable discussion of the origin and development of the flying bomb (V-1) and the long-range rocket (V-2) and of the British measures for counteracting them. His final chapter is a brilliant summing up of the main events and their significance. Savage very competently describes the nature and evolution of the British government's inland transport policy during the Second World War. He first outlines the main developments from 1914 to 1939 and explains the prewar preparations and the presuppositions underlying them. In the second part of the book he covers the period of "twilight war" from September, 1939, to the summer of 1940. In Part III he examines "The Critical Year" from September, 1940, until the summer of 1941, during which inland transport policy was discovered to be weak in certain respects and was reconstructed. In Part IV Savage covers "The Years of Austerity," 1941–1945, during which the Ministry of War Transport imposed increasing restrictions on the use of inland transport and directed inland transport resources toward meeting the most essential demands upon it. One great achievement of this ministry was its detailed plans that enabled British inland transport—railways, road transport, coastal shipping, and canals—to play a vital part in the Normandy invasion of 1944. The author succeeds in bringing out the main economic problem of organizing inland transport for war, namely, closing the gap between the limited supply of inland transport resources and the gigantic war demands made upon them. Confirmation of the main points made in these two volumes is to be found in such supplementary works as those by Seymour Freiden and William Richardson, F. H. Hinsley, Klaus Knorr, and Leslie E. Simon, but the reader will be rewarded by the fresh detail and insights contained in these books by Collier and Savage.

*Rutgers University* SIDNEY RATNER

THE NATIVE POLICIES OF SIR STAMFORD RAFFLES IN JAVA AND SUMATRA: AN ECONOMIC INTERPRETATION. By *John Bastin.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1957. Pp. xx, 163. $4.80.) Mr. Bastin contributes substantially to the much argued controversy between British and Dutch historians concerning the evaluation of Stamford Raffles' administrative role in Java and Sumatra from 1811 to 1825. The author has utilized the relevant archival materials available in London, mainly in the India Office Library, and also Dutch sources. Whereas British students have praised the founder of Singapore as the intrepid spirit who was denied full scope in the exercise of his imperialistic genius by Calcutta's and London's shortsighted restoration of Dutch rule in the East Indies after 1815, the Dutch have denounced him as an opinionated braggard whose quixotic reforming efforts only aggravated confusion. Bastin's study tends to support the Dutch estimate. Raffles was personally ambitious, a doctrinaire liberal, and a "manifest destiny" British imperialist. He was convinced that the pattern of colonial administration developed in Bengal was intrinsically superior to the exploitive Dutch system in Java, with its utilization of the authority of the native regents to force delivery of exportable commodities on a pattern of semislavery. His economic and political views were clearly acts of faith, firmly entertained despite his repeated failures to apply them successfully. He always managed to find explanations that preserved both his convictions and his aplomb, however unconvincing his representations were to Calcutta and to London. He was, in short, a paternalistic autocrat with an unusual penchant for running up blind alleys. When his initial efforts in Java (1811–1813) to realize revenues from trade profits failed, he undertook to introduce, as a liberal substitute for Dutch policy, the land settlement and revenue system developed

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in Bengal. He bypassed the native regents, thereby impairing their authority, but failed to devise any alternative system of tax collections from villagers who had no cash income. The *desa* chiefs were, furthermore, incompetent to perform the duties of land recorder and collector assigned to them. Raffles, in 1813–1814, dared not explain his embarrassing predicament to Calcutta for fear the Company would veto outright his ambitious plans to colonize the islands for Britain. His concern for administrative reforms in Java was probably less than bona fide. Even more confused and inept was Raffles' administration of Britain's possessions on the west coast of Sumatra from 1818 to 1825, although again some of the difficulties (such as the collapse of the world pepper market) were beyond his control. The deficit in Sumatran governmental revenues usually had to be met by shipments of rice and opium from Calcutta. Raffles strengthened the powers of the local chiefs in Sumatra, a policy in direct contradiction to that which he had espoused in Java. Bastin remarks that this was not the only time in British history when expediency was elevated to the status of a new philosophy of government. The book is often repetitive and is not particularly easy reading, but it is revealing in its details and refreshing in its candor.

*Ohio University* JOHN F. CADY

AUSTRALIA IN THE WAR OF 1939–1945. Series Five (Medical). Volume III, THE ISLAND CAMPAIGNS. By *Allan S. Walker*. (Canberra: Australian War Memorial; Sydney: Angus and Robertson Ltd. 1957. Pp. xvi, 426. 35*s*.) The preceding volume of the medical subseries of Australia's official history of the Second World War dealt with the campaigns in the Middle East and the region of Malaya. The present one is concerned primarily with the various campaigns in New Guinea but also treats of the operations in Bougainville, New Britain, and Borneo and of medical problems arising in Australia. It provides useful information about the general conditions under which the war was conducted in the islands as well as about purely medical history. As the many photographs serve to emphasize, the devoted medical services worked in very difficult circumstances in this theater, the transport of wounded men being an especially thorny problem. Battle casualties were not the whole story, however. At certain times and places malaria was a more dangerous foe than the Japanese, and much of the volume is taken up with accounts of the fight against it. The description of the "drill" for administration of atebrin on parade in the Sixth Australian Division is the most extraordinary thing in the book. If this was really carried out—which the reviewer must say he doubts—the Australian soldier must be a much meeker character than he has been made out to be. The volume is a valuable and interesting addition to the literature of the war. It would have been still more valuable if the author and editor had not chosen to leave it wholly undocumented. A future volume will deal with the medical services of the Australian navy and air force.

*Army Headquarters, Ottawa, Canada* C. P. STACEY

## EUROPE

RENÉ LOUIS D'ARGENSON, 1694–1757. By *Peter Gessler*. [Basler Beiträge zur Geschichtswissenschaft, Band 66.] (Basel: Verlag von Helbing & Lichtenhahn. 1957 Pp. viii, 226. 12 fr.S.) This work represents an attempt to set forth d'Argenson's political and economic ideas through the medium of biographical narrative. The resulting volume is a convenient manual that brings together considerable factual information concerning the various phases of d'Argenson's life and thought; it is based upon extensive research in the voluminous manuscript sources. In spite of these assets, the book is disappointing. Throughout his narrative, the author jumps from the specifics of

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d'Argenson's career to his ideas and back again, quite neglecting the interrelations of these elements and the broader significance of each. Important segments of d'Argenson's thought, such as his Gallicanism, are merely mentioned in passing, and none is given adequately detailed exposition. In only two sections of the book is there any attempt to present an analytical statement of d'Argenson's ideas. A portion of the chapter devoted to the "Considérations sur le gouvernement ancien et présent de la France" includes an interesting but mechanical survey of his concepts of the state, the general welfare, sovereignty, law and administration, self-government, and the manner in which egalitarian democracy might be introduced into the monarchical state. Also, parts of the last chapter sketch d'Argenson's economic ideas with emphasis on free trade and ably summarize his many scattered writings on this subject. These brief portions are the best in the book and adequately demonstrate a phenomenon typical of the Enlightenment: how an important member of an outstanding family of jurists and administrators might become thoroughly imbued with the advanced ideas of his age. The work concludes with an extensive bibliography.

*Brown University* WILLIAM F. CHURCH

OEUVRES DE LAVOISIER. CORRESPONDANCE. Fascicule I, 1763–1769; Fascicule II, 1770–1775. Selected and annotated by *René Fric*. Preface by *Louis de Broglie*. [Publié sous le patronage de l'Académie des Sciences.] (Paris: Éditions Albin Michel. 1955; 1957. Pp. xvii, 249; 252–536.) The *Oeuvres* of Lavoisier, edited by J. B. Dumas and Edouard Grimaux, were published in six volumes, from 1861 to 1893, without the correspondence save for a few items. Grimaux announced his intention to publish the correspondence also, but for some unknown reason failed to do so. Since 1925, René Fric, engineer and lecturer at the Institut de Chimie of the Université de Clermont, has devoted his efforts to this project and by assiduous investigation has assembled some 1,100 items, of which only 293 appear in these two volumes. Scholars therefore may conclude, and hope, that other volumes will follow, bringing the published correspondence down to the time of Lavoisier's death, May 5, 1794. The letters published are by no means all by Lavoisier; perhaps an equal number are letters to him, and a few letters between third parties found in the Lavoisier papers are published, inasmuch as they throw light on him. A few rare papers already published in the *Oeuvres* have been reprinted. The editor has scrupulously reproduced the wording and orthography of the original and has designated the depository of each letter. His footnoting may be open to some criticism, in that several score biographical sketches, chiefly on scientists and political figures, are given at excessive length, often one to two pages, whereas a few pertinent lines might have sufficed. On the other hand, a much greater number of notes on matters and minor persons mentioned in the letters would have been welcome. Thus, additional notes on subjects like the geological features of the regions of France traversed by Lavoisier and Guettard, on aspects of the Régie de Tabac, on Lavoisier's scientific apparatus, and on the outcome of projects such as his alembic for distilling sea water would have added to the reader's enlightenment. In general, however, the editing has been of a high type. The work should be of great value to all interested in the history of science, to those who would study the tobacco monopoly, to biographers of Lavoisier (for his personal qualities are admirably revealed), and to those who would understand better the background of the Revolution.

*University of Kentucky* SHELBY T. MCCLOY

DIE SANSCULOTTEN VON PARIS: DOKUMENTE ZUR GESCHICHTE DER VOLKSBEWEGUNG, 1793–1794. Edited by *Walter Markov* and *Albert Soboul*. Foreword by *Georges Lefebvre*. (Berlin: Akademie Verlag. 1957. Pp. lxxiv, 531. DM 38.)

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This collection of 112 documents relating to the activities of the Paris sans-culottes between April, 1793, and May, 1795, draws almost entirely upon unpublished manuscripts from various repositories in the French capital. Each document is printed in both French and German, but the explanatory footnotes and Mr. Markov's introductory essay are in German. Most of the material takes the form of minutes, petitions, and observations of the sections of Paris, those forty-eight pulsating revolutionary centers where the butcher, shoemaker, wigmaker—the people down below—relished the unaccustomed sound of their own voices. Their strong, ungrammatical, and verbose language poured a white hot patriotism less admirable for wisdom than for energy. In the early chapters the royalists, nonjuring clergy, federalists, and Girondins drew the fire, but in the later sections the new bourgeois patriots of the White Terror busily denounced the men who served on the revolutionary committees. There was no compromise, no half tones. One was simply white or black, patriot or traitor. Very little humor can be found in these pages and what little there is, is as simple minded and heavy handed as that of Citizen Garin who petitioned to change the name of rue Contrat Social to rue des Deux Scélérats in an effort, the editor judges, to memorialize hatred of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette. Every student of the Revolutionary government searches for more precise definition of the activities and influence of the sections. We should like to know to what degree the *sectionnaires* directed policy or pushed policy makers to action. These documents probe such questions; for example, they tell us what we have known for a long time, that during the Terror the sans-culottes required the maximum on prices and hated the *"aristocratie bourgeoise."* But the answers to the larger issues are tentative and can only complement what we already know or suspect. Taking these documents as a whole, one could make a reasonably strong defense of the thesis that after June, 1793, the sections mirrored the wishes of the central authority. Was this out of conviction or fear? When Soboul's current research on the sections appears, many of these general questions may be resolved.

*Northwestern University* RICHARD M. BRACE

LA POLITICA ESTERA DEL GUIZOT (1840–1847): L'UNIONE DOGANALE—LA LEGA BORBONICA. By *Salvo Mastellone.* [Storici Antichi e Moderni, Nuova serie 12.] (Florence: La Nuova Italia. 1957. Pp. xii, 219. L. 1,600.) This conventional study in diplomatic history centers on the attempts of Guizot to reestablish French prestige without risk of war after the humiliation of 1840 in the Near Eastern crisis. The first phase, which concerned continental policy primarily, involved an attempted Franco-Belgian customs union—an obvious reply to the Prussian-dominated Zollverein—with the possibility of the eventual inclusion of Holland, Switzerland, and the Kingdom of Sardinia. Blocked by the opposition of both French industrialists and the Great Powers, Guizot then turned toward the Mediterranean in hopes of creating a "Bourbon League" by dynastic alliances among the ruling families of France, Spain, and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. This involved, of course, the whole complicated question of the Spanish marriages. Guizot obtained partial success by restricting the choice of bridegrooms to members of the Bourbon family (including the Duke of Montpensier as husband of the Spanish Infanta), but only at the price of alienating Britain. In any case, Guizot's "victory" over Palmerston was as brief as it was hollow. Mastellone writes clear, straightforward prose. His unpublished sources include documents and correspondence from the Archives Nationales and the Quai d'Orsay (both of which have been utilized before on these subjects) and the Archivio delle Due Sicilie. His story fills in additional details but does not differ substantially in either facts or conclusions from existing standard accounts. The best work on the Spanish marriage question is still that of E. Jones Parry, *The Spanish Marriages, 1841–1846* (London,

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1936), on which Mastellone relies heavily. A more detailed treatment of the proposed Franco-Belgian customs union (which, however, appeared too late to be consulted by Mastellone) is contained in H.-T. Deschamps, *La Belgique devant la France de Juillet* (Paris, 1956). The volume is handsomely printed and contains a detailed table of contents and an index of names. It does not contain a formal bibliography or catalogue of sources, but the footnote citations are quite satisfactory.

*University of Wisconsin* RONDO E. CAMERON

SÉVILLE ET L'ATLANTIQUE (1504–1650). Première partie, PARTIE STATISTIQUE. Tome VI, Parts 1 and 2, LE MOUVEMENT DES NAVIRES ET DES MARCHANDISES ENTRE L'ESPAGNE ET L'AMÉRIQUE DE 1504 À 1650. Tome VII, CONSTRUCTION GRAPHIQUE. By *Huguette* and *Pierre Chaunu*. [École pratique des hautes études, VI^e^ section. Centre de recherches historiques. Ports, Routes, Trafics, Volume VI.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1956; 1957. Pp. 473; 487–1097; 143. 7,800 fr. the set; 1900 fr.) Earlier parts of this work have been reported upon in this journal (see *AHR,* LXII [October, 1956], 128 and LXIII [October, 1957], 111) by J. H. Parry and the present writer. My review stated that "the full value of the work cannot be forecast until all the volumes appear, though it surely will be great." The parts now under consideration support that evaluation. They are, unfortunately, even more difficult than were the earlier volumes to summarize briefly while adequately suggesting the richness of the data being manipulated. Tome VI has a lengthy explanation of its tables preceding the tables themselves, which are in five parts, each with two or more series. The first three parts (totaling twelve series) organize the facts about ship movements (by ship types, tonnage, and ages, by speed of voyages, by years and in gross, and by pairs of terminal ports) and about the value of the cargoes as revealed by the tax records. Parts IV and V tabulate "losses at sea and by war" and "merchandise and prices." Some data on the latter subjects have been gleaned from the Venetian archives, for comparison or as a supplement to the Spanish record. Tome VII needs little comment, since it presents, in a variety of graph forms, data already offered in tabular form. It has value, however, especially for the graphs showing adjustment of the sea routes to growing oceanographic knowledge and to changing conditions in the colonies and the graphs localizing ship losses. All the above is handled with convincing clarity and precision, without discernible errors. The promised interpretative volumes are still to come, but it is already certain that this work ranks among the historical masterpieces of its century.

*University of California, Los Angeles* ROLAND DENNIS HUSSEY

THE AMBASSADOR PREPARES FOR WAR: THE DUTCH EMBASSY OF ARNAULD DE POMPONNE, 1669–1671. By *Herbert H. Rowen*. [International Scholars Forum, Volume 7.] (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1957. Pp. viii, 210. Gldrs. 19.) Arnauld de Pomponne was sent to the United Netherlands as ambassador of Louis XIV in 1669 with the assignment to secure Dutch assent for French ambitions in the Spanish Netherlands; failing that, he was instructed to hold Dutch attention while Louis and Lionne forged a ring of alliances and prepared for the war that would destroy the Netherlands' will to resist. The Triple Alliance, the threat of an anti-French coalition, the fate of the Spanish Netherlands, the uncertainties of English, Swedish, and Imperial policies, the problems of French alliances, subsidies, and military power—these were the factors that occupied the stage in European diplomacy. Since Professor Rowen has made Pomponne's embassy the center of his study, these problems are reflected in the actions and ideas of a company of interesting people in the Netherlands

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and France from DeWitt and William III of Orange to Lionne and Van Beuningen, and it should be remarked that they do come to life in these pages. Rowen may be criticized for not writing a book about the origins of the Dutch war, but those readers who are content to read the book that he did write will be rewarded generously for their effort. Seventeenth-century diplomatic history is always a complex, fast moving story. Diplomats negotiated in all directions, leaving the historian with the often maddening task of unraveling their true intentions. Within the limits that he has set for himself, Rowen's exposé is both skillful and sure; his picture of Pomponne, the seventeenth-century master diplomat, and of the problems of his profession is among the best that this reviewer has read. Those historians who seek to establish economic causation will be interested to note that Rowen plays down mercantilism and, indeed, Colbert himself as factors in the background of the Dutch war. His evidence so completely left Colbert out of the picture that Rowen feels called upon to add a short discussion of the problem. He is convinced that political rather than economic forces were responsible for the Dutch war. His may not be the last word to be written on the question, but future writers will have to consider Rowen's interpretation. The reader of this monograph cannot but express surprise over the fact that, although it is largely based upon unprinted manuscript materials, the research and the writing for this book were both completed on this side of the Atlantic. Microfilming of documents has changed some of the conditions of scholarly labor. Rowen is to be congratulated for his resourcefulness in obtaining the raw stuff for this history as well as for his skill in presenting it.

*University of Minnesota* JOHN B. WOLF

DEN EUROPEISKA KONFESSIONSPOLITIKENS UPPLÖSNING 1654–1660. RELIGION OCH UTRIKESPOLITIK UNDER KARL X GUSTAV. By *Sven Göransson*. [Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift 1956:3.] (Uppsala: Almquist and Wiksell. 1956. Pp. 365.) During the seventeenth century secular attitudes made themselves increasingly felt in the international relations of European states, the rigidities of dogma began to give way to the somewhat more flexible demands of simple "moral law," and religious motivations were noticeably subordinated to reasons of state. Göransson sets forth, with great detail and clarity for so intricate a subject, an important part of this process. He shows how Sweden under Charles X Gustav, caught up in the opportunities and crises of the Northern War, changed or abandoned one by one the roles and programs drawn up for her by the religious "idea men" of Europe, who for decades had touted her as "Champion and Protector of Protestantism," God's "Chosen Instrument" for bringing about the unity of Christendom, "Preparer of the Millenium," etc. Primarily a historian of religion, the author does not spend much time analyzing the warriors, merchants, and statesmen who brought in the new (but not entirely new) secularism and *realpolitik*. He neglects the impact of many factors (e.g., virtually nothing is said of the role Russia played in the Northern War), and this is indeed unfortunate. What he has done, however, is splendid. Göransson concentrates upon an examination of the efforts made to maintain the religious motif in international affairs and upon the men who made them. For him, the central figures of the story (insofar as they are not ideas) are men such as the incomparable Comenius of the Bohemian Brethren, Durie and Hartlib of Cromwellian England, Drabicius, the seer who helped move Rakoczy of Transylvania, Matthias, bishop of Strängnäs in Sweden and principal "unionist" in the Lutheran camp. Drawing upon source material and publications from all of northern and central Europe, Göransson shows how these men and their adherents influenced the statesmen of the day. He traces their prophecies, programs, demands, and hopes—and then shows how all of them went glimmering. The story of Charles X Gustav's re-

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ligious positions is well told. Göransson does not moralize, but the facts come out with impact. The warrior-king was promoter of toleration for Calvinists when he hoped for the alliance of England and Brandenburg; he stretched to sponsor "national" Catholicism when he had a chance to become king of Poland; and he became rather narrowly Lutheran when Brandenburg and the Dutch were his main enemies. One watches this spectacle without particular revulsion. Pathetic, however, are the religious pressure groups and publicists who, in attempting to utilize the state and the statesman, ended by becoming more and more the servants of the latter until, their ideas hopelessly compromised, they ceased to matter.

*California Institute of Technology* HEINZ E. ELLERSIECK

NORGE, SVERIGE OG DEN ENGELSKE TRELASTTOLL, 1817–1850. By *Magnus Mardal.* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget. 1957. Pp. 226.) In 1814 an independent Norway united with Sweden, the principal bond of the union being a king in common. Norway had been seriously impoverished by a long war, a stringent British blockade, and a succession of bad harvests. The forests were her chief asset and the export of timber her national economic life line. Until 1807 England had been the leading customer for Norway's timber, but during the war Britain granted high tariff preferences to timber from her North American colonies. Following the war powerful mercantile and shipping interests fought hard for their retention. This book is a comprehensive and well-documented study of Norwegian efforts to effect a breach in the British tariff wall. As a country offering but a small market for British goods, Norway was in a weak bargaining position. Moreover, her tariff policy was based on free trade, that of Sweden on protection. The king controlled the foreign relations of the united kingdoms; their common foreign ministers and their diplomatic representatives in Britain were always Swedes. Charles John, the former French marshal Bernadotte (king, 1818–1844), sought to weaken Norway's democratic constitution. Aristocratic Sweden was more to his liking, and, of course, he had to give due weight to the special economic interests of the larger of his two kingdoms though they sometimes conflicted with the interests of the smaller. Norwegians suspected that he and the foreign service controlled by him were both lukewarm in their efforts to lower British tariff barriers. Mr. Mardal shows, however, that as far as Swedish-Norwegian ministers in London were concerned this suspicion was unfounded. These ministers faced insurmountable obstacles until Britain in 1846 ended her intraimperial preferential tariff system. The author has carefully examined a wealth of source material. He shows that an issue which to a superficial observer might seem local and trivial actually was linked with international politics. The problem was, in fact, part of the background for the later treaty whereby Britain and France guaranteed the territorial integrity of Norway and Sweden against Russia.

*University of Wisconsin* PAUL KNAPLUND

THE WINTER WAR: FINLAND AGAINST RUSSIA, 1939–1940. By *Väinö Tanner.* (2d ed.; Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1957. Pp. x, 274. $5.00.) This is the first full and authoritative account in English of the origins and diplomacy of the Soviet-Finnish war in 1939–1940, in which the author, leader of Finland's Social Democrats, played a central role, as minister of finance in the prewar cabinet and foreign minister during the three months of war. His book is largely a compilation of notes and diary entries written at the time and presents an authentic picture of events as he saw them. Mr. Tanner reveals that as early as April, 1938, the Soviet government began pressing for strategic advantages along the Gulf of Finland, expressing the fear

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that Germany might try to use Finland as a springboard for aggression against Russia. Finland at the time relied on strict adherence to Scandinavian neutrality for her security. Efforts to establish a closer association between Finland and Sweden foundered on Soviet opposition, and the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact finally deprived Finland of all hope of German support against Soviet pressure. The most fascinating part of the book is Tanner's firsthand report on the Finnish-Soviet negotiations in October–November, 1939, in which Stalin demanded a frontier revision north of Leningrad and the peninsula of Hanko on the southern coast of Finland for use as a Soviet naval base. It was this latter demand that the Finnish government found impossible to accept, fearing that the base might be used not only for defending the approaches to Leningrad but also for subverting Finnish independence. This fear was confirmed when the Russsians invaded Finland on November 30, 1939, and immediately set up a Communist puppet government in Helsinki. The latter part of Tanner's book consists of a day-to-day account of his efforts to make peace on honorable terms or, failing that, to obtain effective military assistance for Finland's hard pressed army. Britain and France offered to send troops, but Tanner suspected they were more interested in taking over Sweden's iron ore fields on the way than in helping Finland. In the end, Finland had to accept peace on terms far harsher than the demands she had originally rejected, but her resistance was successful in that it forced the Russians to abandon the puppet government and with it their apparent aim of conquering all of Finland. Tanner's book is an invaluable source for the study of Soviet policy in Finland. It is regrettable, however, that the American publisher has failed to edit the text for the benefit of readers who lack an intimate knowledge of Finnish conditions.

*Finnish Embassy, Washington, D. C.* MAX JAKOBSON

ÜBERSICHT ÜBER DIE BESTÄNDE DES DEUTSCHEN ZENTRALARCHIVS POTSDAM. [Schriftenreihe des Deutschen Zentralarchivs, Nr. 1.] (Berlin: Rütten & Loening. 1957. Pp. 232.) In 1946 the Zentralarchiv was established in Potsdam (occupying a new building in 1955). It has taken over what remained—about half—of the holdings of the former Reichsarchiv in the same city and accessioned other records that had been in the central government offices of the Reich and Prussia when the war ended. Included also are most of the Prussian state archives, the Hohenzollern archives, and some private papers. For administrative purposes the records are divided among four divisions; the provenance principle is observed in the arrangement of the records. The present guide, compiled by six professional archivists and their fourteen assistants, covers the holdings of Division I, the largest. Following an informative introduction of some twenty pages, it gives a brief administrative history of each agency and then a brief description of its records (amount, date scope, subdivisions, each with date scope, finding aids, bibliography). The system suggests that of the first *Guide to the Material in the National Archives* (1940). Here, too, the legislative records head the procession; those of the Reichstag, 1867–1938, consist of approximately 4,280 volumes. The records of the Ministry of Justice (Reich), 1842–1945, consist of 21,431 volumes. Toward the back of the book the private papers are listed alphabetically by name of person; under Veit Valentin one notes thirty-six letters of Professor Erich Marcks. According to the introduction the arrangement and description work has progressed to the point where 70 per cent of the records are usable. Searchers and archivists will find interest in comparing the *Übersicht* of the Zentralarchiv with *Die schriftlichen Nachlässe in den zentralen deutschen und preussischen Archiven,* which the Bundesarchiv in Koblenz published in 1955.

*National Archives* CARL L. LOKKE

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JAHRESBERICHTE FÜR DEUTSCHE GESCHICHTE. Neue Folge, 3./4. Jahrgang 1951/52. Edited by *Fritz Hartung*. [Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin.] (Berlin: Akademie Verlag. 1956. Pp. xxiv, 439. DM 48.) Compared with the slim Volumes I (literature of 1949, published in 1952) and II (for 1950, published in 1953) of the *Neue Folge* of the *Jahresberichte,* the 4,604 entries of Volume III–IV are proof of the mounting intensity of historical work dealing with German topics in Western and Eastern Germany as well as abroad. The large number is the more surprising since an effort has been made to list only writings of general interest for German history and to omit items of purely provincial and local significance; large-scale duplication of the bibliography on contemporary history since 1917 currently published in the *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* has likewise been avoided. The reintroduction of a section on military history under the ostentatious title "Wehrgeschichte" coincides with the end of the demilitarization concept. The slow progress of this eminently useful tool is to be regretted. The index of authors and the topical index are excellent.

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MAX I. JOSEPH VON BAYERN: PFALZGRAF, KURFÜRST UND KÖNIG. By *Adalbert Prinz von Bayern*. (Munich: F. Bruckmann. 1957. Pp. xii, 892. DM 28.) This work is a well-written and richly documented biography of Max I. Joseph, elector of the Palatinate and Bavaria from 1799 and king from 1806, by his great-grandson, former German ambassador to Spain. German historical writing has been rather critical of the first Bavarian king, largely because of his French orientation. It is the author's view that he deserves better, because no other policy could have saved and aggrandized Bavaria. Max. I. Joseph emerges as a modern king who had the "best heart" and helped his people as well as he could—points which will arouse less dispute than the author's attempt to make the king appear more independent and less influenced by his minister Montgelas than he actually was. The evidence presented shows him often wavering and not a strong personality. To some degree, the king's indecision reflected the precarious geographic situation of Bavaria between two major powers, Austria and France, neither of which tolerated an independent and "neutralist" Bavarian state. After the defeat of Bavaria and Austria in the Second War of Coalition, Bavarian policy was given a new direction, not only because of the increasingly dominant position of France but also because Austria even after 1742 and 1778 continued quite openly her aspirations toward the annexation of Bavaria. Though the alliance with France transformed Bavaria into the foremost German satellite of Napoleon, the new pro-French, basically pro-Bavarian, policy, tested in the wars of 1805 and 1809, turned out to be surprisingly successful, especially since Bavaria, just in time before the battle of Leipzig, changed sides, thus saving herself and retaining her substantial gains. From numerous archives, including some that have been destroyed during the last war, the author has drawn a wealth of material relating primarily to Bavaria's foreign policy. Since he makes it a point to let the sources speak for themselves, there is less evaluation than one might have wished. The king's family life is treated in detail, but internal policy is not adequately covered. In spite of its merits, this work is not the definitive biography of Max I. Joseph of Bavaria.

*Youngstown University* ALFRED D. LOW

HOLSTEIN UND HOHENLOHE: NEUE BEITRÄGE ZU FRIEDRICH VON HOLSTEINS TÄTIGKEIT ALS MITARBEITER BISMARCKS UND ALS RATGEBER HOHENLOHES. NACH BRIEFEN UND AUFZEICHNUNGEN AUS DEM NACHLASS DES FÜRSTEN CHLODWIG ZU HOHENLOHE-SCHILLINGS-

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FÜRST, 1874–1894. By *Helmuth Rogge*. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. 1957. Pp. 453.) For over a quarter of a century Friedrich von Holstein was one of the most trusted advisers of Prince Chlodwig zu Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst, German ambassador to Paris, governor of Alsace-Lorraine, and chancellor of the German Reich. Yet when the first two volumes of Hohenlohe's private papers were published in 1906, they contained almost no hint of this relationship. Hohenlohe's editors evidently had no desire to show how dependent the prince had been on the advice of Holstein, who was already at that time a controversial figure. Dr. Helmuth Rogge has now written an entire book based on material omitted from the earlier Hohenlohe publication. The present work above all makes clear the secret of Holstein's much discussed hold over important German statesmen: his advice was considered indispensable. Holstein not only gave advice on politics and diplomacy; he kept Hohenlohe constantly informed about the political situation in Berlin, how his reports were being received by the kaiser and the chancellor, how these reports might be improved or amended. He told Hohenlohe of every rumor that affected his person and position, he advised him when his presence in Berlin would be strategically useful in counteracting influences working against him at court or on the Wilhelmstrasse, and he supplied advice on personnel, on salary questions, on social obligations. He gave this advice fearlessly, often at the apparent risk of seriously offending the highborn prince, though he presumably realized that Hohenlohe had seen enough of sycophants to appreciate what appeared to be an honest opinion. Holstein even went so far as to warn Hohenlohe against his wife's lack of diplomatic tact. It is no wonder that Princess Hohenlohe had nothing but harsh things to say about Holstein in later years, an opinion reflected in the memoirs of her son, Prince Alexander. Rogge's work reveals a political society in which personal machinations were often more important than official mechanisms, in which intrigue and ruthlessness were considered regular means for political survival. It is interesting to note that bribery and stock exchange speculation (for which Holstein has subsequently been severely censured) were practiced as a matter of course by officials of this era—and by no means only by German officials. Holstein played the game, as the authors takes care to emphasize, but so did Hohenlohe, Radowitz, Bucher, and Herbert Bismarck. So did Chancellor Bismarck himself, who in fact set the tone of his political environment. "Bismarck is undeniably a great man," Hohenlohe wrote in a moment of anger to a relative, "but the fellow is evil through and through [ein durch und durch böser Kerl]" —a remark that forms a fitting complement to some of Bismarck's own judgments about Hohenlohe. Although Rogge's book brings to light no new or sensational facts about German policy, it fills in many political details and contributes significantly to an understanding of personal relationships among members of a government in which such relationships were frequently the decisive factor. The book itself is a model of scholarly craftsmanship and thoroughness, a notable successor to the author's earlier work based on Holstein's letters to his cousin.

*Michigan State University* NORMAN RICH

DIE DEUTSCHE SOZIALDEMOKRATIE UND DER NATIONALE STAAT, 1870–1920: UNTER BESONDERER BERÜCKSICHTIGUNG DER KRIEGS- UND REVOLUTIONSJAHRE. By *Hermann Heidegger*. [Göttinger Bausteine zur Geschichtswissenschaft, Band 25.] (Göttingen: Musterschmidt Verlag. 1956. Pp. 401. DM 24.) While presenting no new material that would alter our current picture of the Social Democratic majority party (SPD) before 1920, this is nevertheless a highly stimulating book. Unfortunately it ignores some important literature by Ströbel, Däumig, Frölich, Borchardt, Geyer, Marks, Dittmann, Snell, Gay, and Drachkovitch, as well as all party newspapers save *Vorwärts*. Footnotes are succinct and fairly adequate, but there is no

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index. The author employs chiefly a topical exposition; chapters are devoted to the evolution of party attitudes on major issues and to individuals. Justification for another book on a theme lately handled by Berlau, Schorske, Klinkhammer, Tormin, Gay, and Drachkovitch seems to lie in the historic importance of the SPD's actions in 1918–1919. Almost two thirds of the book deals with that period. For Dr. Heidegger the SPD's supreme services were rescuing the unity of the German state (subverted by the Armistice and Versailles) and repelling Bolshevism. Assuredly these achievements do shine by comparison with the failure of the CDU-CSU in our day to put the German Humpty Dumpty together again. Emerging from a nationalist-political reweaving of familiar threads is the novel motif that Marxism, with its gospel of class struggle and revolutionary internationalism, was a fell legacy forever preventing the SPD from becoming the paladin of national solidarity. Marxism handicapped the party after as before suppression of the Spartacists. It would have been more politic to have emblazed the effigy of Lassalle than that of Marx on the party house flag! Because the SPD vacillated between state and party interests, failing to identify itself with eternal German ideals, the party lost strength after 1920, and the republic was compromised by its chief supporters. But nationalism in moments of crisis is a heady drink, and this reviewer wonders whether an SPD that had drunk too copiously of this potion would not have ended by striking an anti-Western, undemocratic posture. While most of Heidegger's judgments merit endorsement, his failure to recognize that a cautious nationalism had triumphed in the party as early as the Chemnitz (1912) and Jena (1913) conventions may be regretted, since the omission causes some distortion. The view that in 1918 the SPD possessed neither the revolutionary conviction nor the power to fulfill its social program contradicts the assertion that the party lacked nationalist intelligence. Unconvincing, finally, is the curious apotheosis of Noske (encouraged by his recent memoirs?) as the "courageous," "firm," "tenacious" model of what a Weimar Socialist should have been.

*Nebraska Wesleyan University* WILLIAM H. MAEHL

ZUR GESCHICHTE DER ORDNUNGSPOLIZEI 1936–1945. By *Hans-Joachim Neufeldt, Jürgen Huck,* and *Georg Tessin.* [Schriften des Bundesarchivs, Band 3.] (Coblenz: Bundesarchiv. 1957. Pp. xv, 244. DM 12.) The new publication of the Federal Archives maintains the high standard of informative scholarship set by its previously published studies. The volume puts all future work on the *Ordnungspolizei* on a firm basis with regard to facts, figures, and biographical information on its leading personnel. The painstaking research of the three contributors, which is based on records as well as on interviewing methods, comes perhaps as close to a definitive history of the *Ordnungspolizei* as the surviving and supporting source material will ever permit. The first part of the book is comprised of Neufeldt's studies on the origins and organization of the *Hauptamt Ordnungspolizei* and Huck's study of evacuation centers and the fate of the records of the *Hauptamt Ordnungspolizei* in the last war. The second part consists of a careful survey of the staffs and units of the *Ordnungspolizei* by Tessin. Students of German constitutional and administrative history will profit from Neufeldt's revealing discussion of the changes in the organization of German police in the period of transition from the Weimar Republic to the centralized totalitarian state. The appointment of the *Reichsführer SS* in June, 1936, as chief of the German police, although it left him formally subordinated to the German and Prussian minister of the interior, meant the victory of Himmler and Heydrich (who since 1934 had made the political police the domain of the SS) over Frick and Daluege. Himmler divided the German police into branches—each with a central office (*Hauptamt*)—*Sicherheitspolizei,* comprising the political police (*Gestapo*) and the criminal police, executive organs working

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in mufti, and the uniformed *Ordnungspolizei* (*Schutzpolizei, Gendarmerie,* and local police); he failed to achieve complete identification of the SS and police. The military trend in the *Ordnungspolizei,* which first became visible in its role in the occupation of Austria, of the Sudeten territory, and later of Bohemia and Moravia, led during the war to the establishment of police formations that were not only used for the pacification of the rear of the fighting army by combating partisans but were often deployed like regular army units in the front line. More than half of Tessin's article deals with police troops in annexed (*angegliederten*), occupied, and allied territories and must be regarded as required reading in any scholarly endeavor concerning Germany's "war empire."

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DOCUMENTS ON GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY, 1918–1945. Series D (1937–1945). Volume X, THE WAR YEARS, JUNE 23–AUGUST 31, 1940. [Department of State Publication 6491.] (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office. 1957. Pp. lvi, 615. $2.75.) The latest volume in this valuable series of documents on Germany's foreign policy covers the brief period from the French armistice with Germany to the Vienna Award. This span of barely two months suffices to fill an entire volume because of the number of important issues that Germany faced at the time. To list some of them is to indicate the substance of the volume under review: German dealings with captive Belgium, Denmark, France, Norway, Poland, and Slovakia; Soviet absorption of the Baltic States; the jockeying for power in Bulgaria, Finland, Turkey, and Yugoslavia; German-Italian and German-Japanese relations; peace proposals; German attempts to snare the Duke of Windsor; the bitter conflict between Hungary and Rumania; Soviet claims to Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina; and of course the evolution of Nazi-Soviet relations. As the self-appointed arbiter of Europe, and as a matter of political utility, Berlin made all these problems its concern. Yet the documents reveal only rarely an awareness of the historic departures from routine diplomacy that the German activities represented. While the quality of German reporting and instructions varies greatly, all in all the volume reflects the familiar combination of shrewd insight and striking blind spots among German policy makers and diplomatists. Some of the documents here presented—especially with regard to Russia and Italy—have appeared in other collections, but the bulk of the material is new and contains enlightening and fascinating nuggets. As usual, the selection and annotation are competent and thorough; the reader appreciates references to other collections and studies. The material is presented chronologically, but the detailed "analytical list" permits following through geographic or topical threads. Footnotes also refer to additional documents deposited with the National Archives. Perhaps somewhat wider use of documents on foreign relations from sources other than the *Auswärtiges Amt* (such as occupied areas, intelligence, foreign trade, OKW) would have been in order for this period.

*Columbia University* ALEXANDER DALLIN

THE KERSTEN MEMOIRS, 1940–1945. By *Felix Kersten.* With an introduction by *H. R. Trevor-Roper.* Translated from the German by *Constantine Fitzgibbon* and *James Oliver.* (New York: Macmillan Company. 1957. Pp. 314. $5.00.) Several main themes are pursued in this volume: first, Kersten's achievements in influencing Himmler, for example, to call off the threatened resettlement of the Dutch people in eastern Europe and to permit release first of individuals, then of large groups, from concentration camps; second, the presentation of Himmler's views on the past and present (National Socialism and freemasonry, the church, the nobility, the diplomats) as well as the future (a revived Burgundian state in the "new Europe," with France reduced to a

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provincial "Gaul"; a planned society, approving bigamy—for the right people—yet creating an elite class of "chosen women"; settlement of the East by Germanic *Wehrbauern*); third, information on Nazi leaders—a medical report on Hitler, Heydrich's extraordinary career, the intramural warfare of Kaltenbrunner and Schellenberg; fourth, the negotiations with Himmler in the winter and spring of 1944–1945, mingling the rescue of thousands from concentration camps with desperate German peace feelers. The *Memoirs of Doctor Felix Kersten* issued in this country in 1947 followed a narrative autobiographical pattern and had a more sensational tone than the present volume, which reproduces Kersten's diary entries, shaken—not wholly successfully—into topical instead of chronological order. The earlier version contained more about Kersten, the new one more about Himmler. The Himmler who emerges is the now familiar image (is it necessarily right?) of the "naïve, mystical, credulous" rather than the "terrible, impersonal, inhuman" tyrant, to use words of Professor Trevor-Roper. For years, Trevor-Roper has waged a campaign for recognizing Kersten, rather than Count Folke Bernadotte, as the chief agent in freeing prisoners from concentration camps in the last months of the war. Not surprisingly, Kersten's claims initially roused skepticism (see Konrad Heiden's introduction to the 1947 *Memoirs*). The new volume has an introduction (which appeared substantially in *Der Monat* for November, 1956) in which Trevor-Roper summarizes his efforts and their outcome. American readers learned about them in his article and correspondence in the *Atlantic Monthly,* in February and April, 1953. Since then, Kersten's role has become accepted as a major one. Yet the controversy leaves a somewhat murky atmosphere. One wonders what political and personal considerations may have led Bernadotte to ignore Kersten's part and produced the long resistance in Swedish circles to giving Kersten his due. Trevor-Roper's comments on Bernadotte are less vehement now than in 1953. One would welcome further documents and diaries, both to fill out the record of the various negotiations with Himmler and to remove the unclarities concerning Kersten's position for six years as "medical adviser to the Grand Inquisitor of the Third Reich."

*Harvard University* REGINALD H. PHELPS

FALL GELB: DER KAMPF UM DEN DEUTSCHEN OPERATIONSPLAN ZUR WESTOFFENSIVE 1940. By *Hans-Adolf Jacobsen.* [Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für europäische Geschichte Mainz, Band 16.] (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag. 1957. Pp. 337. DM 26.) The major part of this highly technical but lucid study by Dr. Hans-Adolf Jacobsen, an instructor at the new training school for German officers in Cologne, is concerned with discovering who worked out the plans that led to the incredible German military successes in the spring of 1940. These plans, the author concludes, were in large measure the joint work of Generals Erich von Manstein and Franz Halder and of Hitler himself. When the Second World War began Germany had no plan for an offensive in the west. Not until the end of September did Hitler issue orders that such a plan be worked out, and by the middle of October he decided to launch an attack in the west. Had such an attack been launched on November 12 as Hitler intended, Jacobsen contends that the outcome might have been far different from that achieved a few months later. But owing to bad weather conditions and the steady opposition of the German generals, the attack was postponed twenty-nine times. Meanwhile the original offensive plans had been changed almost completely. Jacobsen acknowledges that some of the most inspired ideas for the final German offensive came from Hitler, but he points out that these were never proposals worked through to their ultimate conclusions. It remained for the highly trained professional officers to give Hitler's inspirations substance. Even then, the German successes in 1940 were not solely due to the excellence of German planning but were attributable in no small measure to terrible

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mistakes and bad luck on the part of the Allies. "The French must really have been deserted by all their guardian angels, otherwise they could and would have prevented that," said General von Bock at one stage of the operations. General von Leeb commented in wonder: "It is fantastic." But Germany paid dearly for her victories in the west. The remarkable success of the German plans led Hitler to believe in his ability as a general. After the 1940 campaign he interfered more and more in military plans and listened less to the warnings of his generals, with results that contributed significantly to the defeat of 1945. None of these conclusions are altogether new, but Jacobsen has written a professional military study that should clear away many misconceptions about his subject.

*Michigan State University* NORMAN RICH

*Erratum:* In the review of *Krupp und die Hohenzollern,* edited by Willi Boelcke, appearing on page 494 of the January, 1958, issue, the sentence containing the word "collusion" should read: "This report, typically enough, was sent to the kaiser from Bad Gastein; the editor evidently failed to see that Von Verdy about three weeks earlier had been dismissed because of his collision with Krupp."

THE AUSTRIAN ODYSSEY. By *Gordon Shepherd.* (New York: St Martin's Press. 1957. Pp. xiv, 302. $6.50.) This work by a foreign correspondent of a distinguished British paper, who had experience in Austrian postwar military government, is divided into three parts: a broad historical introduction, a discussion of the German annexation period and the subsequent four-power military occupation, and an evaluation of the Austrian state treaty of 1955 and of the Austrian neutrality status since that time. Unfortunately the historical introduction presents a weak overture to an otherwise interesting study. Poorly organized, it contains a number of major errors, oversimplifications, and unsubstantiated assertions. A few examples must suffice. No evidence is offered for the allegation that "more often than not, it is the returned racial refugee from New York or the newer political refugee from Budapest who has amassed such quick fortunes as have been made in post-war Vienna." Far too sweeping are the three following statements: by way of the Pragmatic Sanction "this dynastic federation of the Habsburg crown was declared a unified . . . state"; the Magyar claim "to share supremacy with the Austro-Germans was plain impertinence . . ."; and "as regards effective brain power, the Hungarians' record was almost as shabby" as their occupational one (an overwhelming proportion was employed in agriculture). The assumption that Archduke Francis Ferdinand was firmly committed to a trialistic empire organization is not borne out by the available sources. Emperor Charles formally withdrew from state affairs not "three months after the Republic had been proclaimed" but actually one day before, namely, on November 11, 1918. The *Anschluss* program was not deleted from the Socialist party program in the summer of 1934—at that time the party had been officially dissolved—but in October, 1933, prior to its technical dissolution. Finally, the picture is not clarified by the ambiguity in the use of such words as "race," "racial," Austrian "nationhood," "Pan-Germanism," which, in the author's terms, mean different things at different times. Yet in spite of these serious shortcomings the second and third parts of the study have distinctive merits. The narrative of the Austrian resistance movement from 1938 to 1945 is a valuable contribution to a widely neglected field of historical action. The discussion of the Austrian economic situation since 1945 is well observed and interesting. The analysis of the present Austrian neutrality status may be controversial, but it is certainly not trite. Thus the reader who is not out primarily for historical information may peruse this study to some advantage.

*Rutgers University* ROBERT A. KANN

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L'INTESA MEDITERRANEA DEL 1902: UNA FASE RISOLUTIVA NEI RAPPORTI ITALO-INGLESI. By *Enrico Serra.* Introduction by *W. N. Medlicott.* [Facoltà di giurisprudenza della Università di Milano, XIV.] (Milan: Dott. A. Giuffrè Editore. 1957. Pp. xxiii, 270. L. 1,500.) This able and impressive study subjects Anglo-Italian relations between 1896 and 1902 to a microscopic examination. The author has done a superb research job with British official sources and private papers. He has seen some important documents in the Italian Foreign Office archives in addition to private letters of foreign ministers Visconti Venosta and Prinetti and of Count Pansa, the capable Italian ambassador at London. The result is an improved edition of a monograph that won the *Nuova Antologia* prize in 1954. Serra skillfully traces the negotiations by which petty difficulties with England were composed and the Mediterranean agreement of March, 1902, was achieved. Professor Medlicott and the author are technically correct that the official text of the agreement has never before been published. But the precise wording of the British assurances appears in paragraphs six and seven of Lansdowne's dispatch of March 7, 1902, to Currie, the British ambassador in Rome, which is reproduced in *British Documents on the Origins of the War, 1898–1914.* What is new, then, is not the agreement but the detailed negotiations that led to the agreement. Also important is the description of the fears, aspirations, and methods of leading Italian and English diplomats and of Italian nervousness concerning Mediterranean interests after 1896. The excitable Prinetti hardly emerges as one of Italy's great foreign ministers. He was feuding with Lord Currie and with the *Times.* Perhaps the author is correct in writing of a crisis in Anglo-Italian relations, but a large part of the crisis appears to have been in Prinetti's mind. The British were friendly, but they had a low opinion of Italy's military strength and were opposed to binding pledges for the future. Their cautious commitment seems to have quieted Prinetti even though he failed to secure pledges he could use to convince the Turks that they should make economic and political concessions to the Italians in Tripoli. Much more definite was a secret agreement regarding the delimitation of the Egyptian-Cyrenaican frontier that the British and the Italians made late in 1907. Useful letters are reproduced in an appendix.

*Colgate University* WILLIAM C. ASKEW

RISORGIMENTO E PROTESTANTI. By *Giorgio Spini.* [Biblioteca Storica, Nuova serie, Number 5.] (Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane. 1956. Pp. viii, 390. L. 2,400.) During the last few years Italian historians have more and more tired to broaden their understanding of the political, ideological, and economic forces that helped to shape the development of Italy for the past century and a half. The attitude of the Catholic Church and of Italian Catholics toward the Risorgimento and the new Italian national state has been ably interpreted from different points of view. Now, Giorgio Spini brings us *Risorgimento e Protestanti,* which he modestly calls "not . . . a history of the Protestant role in the Risorgimento [but] only a step towards such a history . . . [written] during a pause . . . in the debate now going on." Professor Spini has utilized recent studies and the scattered fragments of past scholarship. He has also drawn upon archival material. The result is a thoughtful and thought-provoking book, which poses many questions of considerable interest to students of the Risorgimento and should stimulate further research. What emerges from it is a realization that while Protestantism as a religious tenet had a small numerical following among Italians, its philosophical and moral influence on many of the men who devoted their lives to achieve Italian unity may have been considerable. After disposing summarily of what he calls "the legends" of earlier historiography on Protestants and the Risorgimento, Spini follows the various strands in the complicated pattern of relations between the Protestant world and Italy. These relations began to have significance with the ascendancy of Protestant

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England and the decline of the Counter-Reformation and became closer after 1815. Then foreign Protestants and the Waldensians started to associate personal and religious freedoms with the cause of Italian unity. Italian expatriates, fleeing repression at home, found refuge and friends in Switzerland, England, and Scotland, where they were influenced by the political and intellectual outlook of their Protestant hosts and often by their religious beliefs. Worried by a resurgent Catholicism which seemed to threaten the established religion, English-speaking peoples saw in the Risorgimento a counter-weapon to sweep away papal power. Evangelical groups dreamed of converting Italy to Protestantism, and much money was collected during the nineteenth century for this purpose. The fervor of religious feeling that swept Europe during the first half of the century had repercussions in Italy by fostering a greater awareness of and receptiveness toward Protestant ideas, going beyond the purely religious tenets. These, then, are the main points of Spini's work. Little justice, obviously, can be done to them in a brief review, but even in such skeletal form their interest is obvious.

*Tübingen, Germany* EMILIANA P. NOETHER

BOLSHEVISM IN TURKESTAN, 1917–1927. By *Alexander G. Park*. [Studies of the Russian Institute of Columbia University.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1957. Pp. xiv, 428.) By writing a lucid history of the establishment of Soviet power in what is now called Soviet Central Asia and by providing a detailed analysis of the implementation of various phases of the Bolshevik minorities policy in Turkestan until 1927, Dr. Park has admirably fulfilled his plan of presenting a case study in the relationship between the living institutions of Soviet rule and the goals to which the Bolshevik rulers aspire. *Bolshevism in Turkestan* is invaluable to every student of Soviet internal policy. The only other book in the field, in a Western language, comparable in exhaustiveness is Baymirza Hayit's *Turkestan im XX. Jahrhundert* (Darmstadt, 1956). Park's book lacks the sense of immediacy produced by Hayit's use of Turkic language sources and his lifelong experience in the area. On the other hand, Park observes a scrupulous detachment, whereas Hayit makes no effort to conceal his personal involvement in the subject matter of the book. The Soviet political and memoir literature of the early twenties was, by later standards, untrammeled—a circumstance that the author employs to good advantage. The well-documented chapters on Soviet policy toward Islam, agriculture, education, land reform, and economic rationalization provide ample justification for the author's conclusion that the Soviet regime has failed to achieve a solution to Russia's nationality policy that provides for a degree of tolerance and respect for human dignity. The author's contention that the basic pattern of Soviet policy had been established in 1927, the terminal year of the study, is convincingly demonstrated. Park's first book has made a real contribution in an important area.

*Washington, D. C.* HERBERT S. DINERSTEIN

## FAR EAST

WESTERN ENTERPRISE IN INDONESIA AND MALAYA: A STUDY IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. By *G. C. Allen* and *Audrey G. Donnithorne*. [Issued in cooperation with the Institute of Pacific Relations.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1957. Pp. 321. $5.75.) The authors have written a study of the evolution of Western enterprise in Indonesia and Malaya during the past century and a quarter, with emphasis on the period since 1945. The main outlines cover familiar ground, but the book, based on research in Europe and Southeast Asia, includes much new material. The critical commentary accompanying the description of each phase of economic life is notably impartial. The cautious pessimism about the probable future of Indonesia in particular

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will not find favor with Asian nationalists, but they will find it hard to controvert the evidence. Altogether this is a valuable and reliable addition to the literature on Southeast Asia. A brief but adequate history of Western enterprise from the early nineteenth century onward is followed by separate chapters on each phase of development—agriculture, mining, banking, shipping, public utilities, commerce, and manufacturing. While the authors are concerned chiefly with Western enterprise, they pay adequate attention to the Chinese and their growing importance, especially where they impinge upon Western economic activities. The Indonesians and Malays hardly appear except as the indispensable laborers and cultivators of small holdings. The authors do not dismiss the possibility that they may in time replace the Westerners, but they are not overly hopeful. They think it more probable that the economic future of the Federation of Malaya lies in a development of the growing partnership between Westerners and Chinese, since both will have need of one another for a long time to come. They point out that in Indonesia the government's attempt to supplant Westerners by Indonesians has redounded to the economic benefit of the Chinese, who, as always in Southeast Asia, are unpopular but indispensable. The authors' verdict on Western enterprise is that without it and the diverse resources it commanded the development of wild and uncultivated regions would not have taken place. They grant that the motive was profit and not philanthropy, but they point out that "in the past social welfare came as a by-product of economic development." They are skeptical whether the United Nations, United States, or United Kingdom would be able to provide the very large sums in grants and long-term loans that would be necessary to replace private investment, and they believe that "there is all experience to testify that improvements in social welfare . . . can be realised only in conditions of economic prosperity."

*University of Minnesota* LENNOX A. MILLS

## UNITED STATES

THE HISTORICAL THINKING OF CHARLES A. BEARD. By *Elias Berg.* [Skrifter Utgivna av Statsvetenskapliga Föreningen i Uppsala, XXXVIII.] (Stockholm: Almquist & Wiksell. 1957. Pp. 83. Kr. 3.) This small book professes "to give an analysis of Beard's economic interpretation and of his historical relativism." "Strictly theoretical" in purpose and point of view, it goes quite "beyond Beard's own statements" and undertakes to extract from them "their possible and probable meanings." This going beyond Beard is necessary, it seems, because his statements show but "a vague and common-sense character" and lack "precision." The author hopes to overcome these linguistic deficiencies, which conceal "serious theoretical problems," by reexpressing Beard's ambiguities in a language of symbols and cumbersome logic that he has compounded out of the esoteric barbarisms of the numerous logicians and social scientists cited in the book. More than a simple clarification of Beard's "vague" writings is intended, however. When the author speaks of having a "theoretical" purpose, he means that he wants, among other things, to evaluate Beard's writings as theory; he wants to separate their "theoretical" truth from their chaff and error. In order to realize that purpose, he puts Beard's statements through a process of "theoretical" evaluation that has all the subtlety of thrashing in Kansas. Beard's works are reduced through evaluative beating, blowing, and sifting to a mere "grain of truth." What few such grains result weigh light, very light indeed. Witness what was thrashed out of the economic interpretation: "He [Beard] was right in agreeing with the opinion that the satisfaction of certain basic material needs is a prerequisite for all forms of social life." Witness what came out of "historical relativism": "His critique of causation in history is less than convincing, and his view that the validity of historical writings is relative seems to be justified only in a very

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limited sense." Witness finally what was yielded from Beard as a person, as a thinker, and as a force in the intellectual world: "Beard was not a systematic or penetrating thinker. . . . Yet his theoretical contribution to American historiography was important: acting as a kind of popularizer of more original and profound—but frequently less sensible—thinkers, he emphasized essential aspects and problems which had previously been neglected by American historians." It is gratifying and encouraging to find a European scholar sufficiently interested in Beard to write even a small book about him. This reviewer hopes, however, that he may be forgiven if he admits to a slight pang of regret because this book about a great American historian does not show a more historical point of view. Some European social scientists apparently share with many of their American counterparts the conviction that common sense, even bad common sense, when reduced to number and letter symbols and ponderous circumlocution, takes on precision and clarity and scientific validity.

*University of Oregon* LLOYD SORENSON

THE LIBERAL ARTS COLLEGE: A CHAPTER IN AMERICAN CULTURAL HISTORY. By *George P. Schmidt.* (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1957. Pp. viii, 310. $6.00.) About two thirds of this book is an often penetrating and always engaging history of the rise, long heyday, and decline of the classic (and of course classical) liberal arts college. It was, Professor Schmidt writes, a unique American institution, dominating the field of higher education through the century between the founding of Dartmouth in 1769 and the accession of President Eliot of Harvard in 1869. Individual colleges ran remarkably true to a type until they were engulfed by a flood, the main sources of which were the Western state universities, German scholarship and higher criticism, and the theory of evolution. The last third of the book is a commentary on liberal education after the deluge. Occasionally this portion of the volume becomes a tract for the times, which admittedly call for instruction about the meaning of liberal education. Schmidt draws heavily upon his own research, notably into the nature of the old-fashioned college as a going concern, and also upon the accumulating literature on the history of higher education. This book repeats one or two factual errors and fails to squeeze all of the juice from its secondary sources, but it reflects the prevalent desire to subject the clichés of academic life to historical analysis. It will be a pity if this portrait of the liberal arts college itself reinforces a popular stereotype. Schmidt stresses the polarity between academic progressivism and conservatism ("Dewey vs. Hutchins") and between the static homogeneity of the old college and the dynamism of its successors. Alma mater may be all things to all men today, but is she really suffering from a simple schizophrenia? She may once have been complacent, but did she go completely to sleep? If so, how is one to account for the fact that conservative Yale was sufficiently awake to grant the first American Ph.D. degrees? Harvard had some yeastiness long before Eliot's time; and Union had its Eliphalet Nott, Brown its Francis Wayland. Reform did come from within as well as from without the college. Schmidt refers to these matters but hardly does them justice as evidence of the continuity between the old education and the many new educations that came after it.

*University of Chicago* RICHARD J. STORR

THE NEGRO IN INDIANA: A STUDY OF A MINORITY. By *Emma Lou Thornbrough.* [Indiana Historical Collections, Volume XXXVII.] (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau. 1957. Pp. xiii, 412. $4.50.) Although Indiana's Negro population was never large, numbering less than three per cent as late as 1900, it was not without its impact in shaping legal and social patterns. In Miss Thornbrough's study this role is

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described and analyzed. In the ante bellum period the free Negro was regarded as an undesirable; despite the Northwest Ordinance, slavery and long-term indentures of Negroes were common practices in territorial Indiana. After its admission to the Union in 1816, the state legislated against Negro immigration and offered aid to its Negro inhabitants who would leave for Liberia. In the years following the Civil War the Negro population rose sharply with the coming of the emancipated slaves, most of whom flocked to the river towns. Increasingly articulate, these urbanized Negroes sought to get ahead through political action and formal schooling. This study closes with the year 1900 (since that "is as logical a stopping point as any"), but the author furnishes an epilogue sketch of the last fifty years. The Negro's recent general progress is portrayed as substantial; however, note is taken that Indiana still retains her century-old law against interracial marriages. This work is organized topically, with the Civil War as a dividing line. If this arrangement entails a chronological journeying back and forth for the reader, the compensations are many in this instance. A full-length historical study of the Negro's role in a non-Southern state seldom appears; it is the more noteworthy when such an undertaking is marked by painstaking documentation and ready knowledge of the influences exerted by sectional and national patterns. The author is not deceived by the monolithic appearance that the Negro group often takes in the eyes of others; she is conversant with the crosscurrents inside the minority group as well as its standard united front responses.

*Morgan State College* BENJAMIN QUARLES

THE SEMINOLES. By *Edwin C. McReynolds.* [Civilization of the American Indian Series, Number 47.] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1957. Pp. xv, 397. $5.75.) The span of this book is from earliest white contact with the aborigines of Florida to around 1900, when the survivors of removal and their descendents are found in Oklahoma. The central theme of the first six chapters is imperial rivalry; most attention is given to principals of Spain, Great Britain, and the United States. This section was written largely from secondary sources, and glimpses of the Seminoles are superficial. Difficulty with documentation for a period as late as 1819 is admitted by the author. There is greater use of primary sources and more analysis as the question of removal is developed. The presence of Negroes—slave or free—among the Seminoles is shown to have greatly complicated their relations with the United States and with the Creeks among whom they were first settled in the West. The territorial governor of Florida, John Eaton, was made United States minister to Spain in 1836 because he favored justice for the Seminoles; Richard K. Call, a Florida man, suited Jackson and the Florida settlers better. General Thomas S. Jesup, who commanded United States troops in 1837, is presented as a good soldier, a sincere person much maligned, but a poor statesman. Detention of Wild Cat at St. Augustine, from which he escaped, is called a major blunder of the war, since this was the only chief capable of keeping Seminole resistance alive and the only one who might have cooperated in peaceable removal. It is interesting to meet Sherman as a young lieutenant sent out to escort Wild Cat to Fort Pierce, to observe the cool and deliberate manner in which he handled the chief, and to find his view that it would have been better to leave Florida to the Five Civilized Tribes. Generals who assumed great responsibility in the final struggle between Indian and white gained experience in Florida or en route to Indian territory. Dr. McReynolds has added considerable detail to our knowledge of United States-Seminole relations. His book could, however, have been much more readable had too frequent reliance upon quotation been avoided, had greater attention been given to organization, and had some trivia been omitted.

*University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee* HENRY E. FRITZ

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THE PAXTON PAPERS. Edited with an introduction by *John R. Dunbar.* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1957. Pp. xi, 399. Guilders 24.50.) In the seething resentment that followed the Seven Years' War and the Pontiac uprising, a group of Pennsylvania frontiersmen massacred the protected Indians of Conestoga Manor in Lancaster county and a much larger group marched on Philadelphia to press the demands of the West. These events touched off a monumental pamphlet warfare that split the colony in half and laid bare its underlying tensions. In this volume Mr. Dunbar has reprinted twenty-eight of some sixty-three pamphlets related to the affair of the "Paxton boys." His selection is generally sound; he has eliminated the publications least concerned with the massacres and those chosen include the best of the partisan pieces, although some of the links in the chain of argument have been left out. Because of the rarity of the original pamphlets, this will be a useful collection. It makes generally available a body of source material important for the understanding of colonial society and of the ensuing Revolution. The political and social history contained is readily discovered, but in terms of intellectual history, the pamphlets are somewhat frustrating. Dunbar has arranged them in as good a chronological order as possible, but how the ideas of each pamphlet are related to the other pamphlets and to the discordant elements of Pennsylvania society is not at all apparent. Benjamin Franklin, Hugh Williamson, and David James Dove are among the identified authors. Prose, poetry, and dialogue are all displayed, but the result is not impressive in a literary sense. The deadly repetition of the same narrative in one pamphlet after another will lead the general reader to sample rather than to consume this book. The special student will regret that not even the titles of the pamphlets not included have been supplied. Dunbar's introduction presents the Paxton affair satisfactorily. He has even added some new elements to the story. His principal weakness is an occasional lack of awareness of the most recent ideas about the underlying conditions of the conflict, the extent of the suffrage, for example. In editing, Dunbar has fulfilled his duty without supplying any new data. In a few cases he has failed to present easily accessible information, such as which pamphlets were translated into German. Yet in the large view, his understanding of the affair and his general handling of his materials are good.

*New York University* BROOKE HINDLE

WAR COMES TO QUAKER PENNSYLVANIA, 1682–1756. By *Robert L. D. Davidson.* (New York: Columbia University Press for Temple University Publications. 1957. Pp. vii, 245. $5.00.) War came late to Quaker Pennsylvania. When it finally came in 1755, after nearly three quarters of a century of unbroken peace, it was the result, Mr. Davidson argues, of "profit seeking and politics" in the colony and "the clash of rival empires in a world-wide arena." Whether it was Quaker pacifism, adroit diplomacy, or Pennsylvania's relatively unexposed position that had given the province its long immunity from war he does not make clear, though the question is a moderately interesting one and not ungermane, one would think, to his subject. He does make it clear that by the last years of his period, the Quaker policy could hardly be called pacifist (since Pennsylvania was actually contributing as much to the prosecution of Indian wars as any colony not directly involved in them, and its objections to contributing more were no longer grounded on religious scruple), the diplomacy of James Logan and Conrad Weiser, which had produced a *Pax Pennsylvanica* in the backwoods, had backfired with the alienation of the Delawares and the Shawnees, and imperial expansion had brought a fateful collision in the Ohio country that marked the end of isolation and the beginning of a world war. His narrative of the crowded years from 1749 to 1756, which fills the second half of his book, is competent. Yet all this is familiar ground. Davidson exploits no new sources; he relies largely on the published *Colonial Records of Pennsyl-*

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*vania* and makes little use of manuscript material. He displays no special insight into Indian psychology, no remarkable grasp of imperial affairs, and almost no literary skill, all of which is unfortunate for a book that must inevitably stand comparison with the work of masters like Parkman and Gipson. The book, moreover, is disconcertingly strewn with trivial errors. The reader constantly stumbles over names unknown to history, such as "Conracoeur" and "Joincairè" (identified as French military commanders) and "John Hamburg" (supposedly a Quaker stockholder in the Ohio Company), as well as authors and titles unknown to bibliography (e.g., Beers, *American and West Indies;* Gipson, *Zones of International Freedom;* Hans Poppel, *Map of the British Empire in America*). The quotations that I took the trouble to check showed a disturbingly high incidence of inaccuracy in transcription and citation. In short, scholars and general readers interested in the story of how war came to Quaker Pennsylvania will be well advised to seek it in other books.

*Swarthmore College* FREDERICK B. TOLLES

JOSEPH REED: A MODERATE IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. By *John F. Roche.* [Columbia Studies in the Social Sciences, Number 595.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1957. Pp. x, 298. $5.00.) During his comparatively short span of life (he died at the age of forty-three), Joseph Reed had an active and varied career. He was educated at Princeton and studied law at the Middle Temple in London. On returning to his native New Jersey he engaged in the practice of law and became involved in local politics. Subsequently he settled in Pennsylvania, where he became president of the provincial congress, a delegate to the Continental Congress, and ultimately president of Pennsylvania. Meantime, he served as aide to General Washington and as adjutant general of the Continental Army. The subtitle *A Moderate in the American Revolution* is most apt in describing Joseph Reed, for he was constantly steering a middle course, especially during the period 1765–1775, when bitterness was increasing between the colonies and the mother country. Through his correspondence with Lord Dartmouth, Reed did his best to persuade England to mend its ways. In America, he tried to prevent his fellow colonists from taking extreme steps. Furthermore, during the constitutional struggles within his adopted Pennsylvania, he also worked to prevent either group of extremists from forcing upon the state an unwise frame of government. Yet in his desire to follow a middle course, Reed was often a center of controversy. This was especially true in connection with the Trenton campaign, when he was accused of abandoning hope of American victory and of applying for a British pardon, and his dealings with the Carlisle Commission, when he was charged with possible bribery. While the author does his best to exonerate Reed on these counts, he fails in the main to make his subject live. The reader is never adequately informed as to why Reed acted as he did. The reasons for Reed's various actions are accepted by Mr. Roche but not transmitted to the reader, who consequently is often left with the feeling that Reed was motivated more by self-interest than by anything else. Certainly Roche is not always convincing in lauding the lofty motives of his hero. A particular instance of frustration concerns Reed's adjutant generalcy. Even though he admitted he was not trained for such a post, he presumed to question Washington's strategy in trying to defend the outskirts of New York City and privately wrote to Charles Lee: "I do not mean to flatter or praise you at the expense of any other, but I confess I do think it is entirely owing to you that this army, and the liberties of America, so far as they are dependent on it, are not totally cut off." Was Reed planning to switch horses at this point? For a loyal American to be involved in so many questionable incidents raises a question in the mind of the reader—was Joseph Reed the outstanding man the author would have us believe?

*Syracuse University* O. T. BARCK, JR.

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NEW ENGLAND HOSPITALS, 1790–1833. By *Leonard K. Eaton.* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1957. Pp. xii, 282. $6.00.) Professor Eaton traces in an interesting manner the evolution of hospitals in New England in a significant period. Boston in 1790 was the business center of New England, and large fortunes were being made, especially in the China trade. Wealthy men, such as Amos Lawrence, Thomas Handasyd Perkins, and the Lowells, many of them Unitarians, recognized first of all their duty to ill and injured merchant seamen, but they were far from unmindful of their other social obligations. First, then, came the establishment, at their insistence, of the Boston Marine Hospital (1804), followed soon thereafter (1810) by a move to establish a general hospital. Interestingly, the mental portion of the hospital (now the McLean) was established three years before the general hospital (the Massachusetts General Hospital, 1821). Eaton sketches the character and attainments of some of the great men who made these hospitals great, for example, James Jackson, Jacob Bigelow, J. C. Warren, Eli Todd, Amariah Brigham, Samuel B. Woodward. The development of therapeutics in these hospitals, the high standards of treatment and of ethics that were an example to other communities, and the resulting growth of public confidence in hospitals are set forth. The author particularly notes the recognition by Massachusetts of the obligation of the state to care for the mentally ill, as illustrated by the establishment of the Worcester State Hospital in 1833, before either New York or Pennsylvania had a similar institution. The early development of the teaching facilities of the Massachusetts General by the Harvard Medical School, the hospital's role in research, and the influence of these early institutions on the growth of other important medical institutions (Boston Lying-In Hospital and Eye and Ear Infirmary, for example) are described. The volume is of interest to the historian of medicine and of social institutions and a welcome addition to the literature. Much material is presented. This reviewer, however, found it difficult at times to orient himself as to dates, and occasionally as to the particular hospital being described; may he suggest that "1835" would be simpler and clearer than "the following summer"? After all, historians should not be afraid of dates!

*St. Elizabeths Hospital, Washington, D. C.* WINFRED OVERHOLSER

HENRY CLAY AND THE ART OF AMERICAN POLITICS. By *Clement Eaton.* [The Library of American Biography.] (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1957. Pp. 209. $3.50.) In this biography in miniature (not a monograph as the title suggests) Mr. Eaton has eight short and interesting chapters on the great Kentuckian's public career from War Hawk leader of 1812 to compromiser of 1850. One of the other four chapters, all topical in nature, is concerned with the art of politics. In this Clay was a skilled practitioner, says the author, but he was not a consummate master because he talked and wrote too much and had an inordinate craving for public office. Such defects help explain his failure to become President. Yet it is emphasized that his great abilities in "the art of the possible" were effectively exerted to preserve the Union in the three sectional compromises associated with his name. In the remaining chapters Eaton writes very well indeed of Clay as the planter, humanitarian, and "early Victorian gentleman," bringing out those qualities of the man that captivated so many Americans of his day. This interpretative biographical essay is well based on the many monographs and detailed biographies about Clay. Its great virtue is not the presentation of new viewpoints or new materials, though the Clay papers being assembled at the University of Kentucky were helpful, but rather the skill displayed in selecting pertinent matter from a huge mass, organizing and summarizing this, distilling whole chapters of others into a page or two, and presenting the story in a form and style to please the general reader. The scholarly reader will admire this skill in the very difficult art of compression. Yet he may well question some of the generalizations here and there as being

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inconsistent, unqualifiedly black and white, or so simplified as to be inaccurate. The author in general is sympathetic to Clay, whom he characterizes as "a moderate conservative," "a cautious liberal," and increasingly out of touch with "the little people." One feels, however, that he is fundamentally unsympathetic to Clay's policies aimed at the country's industrial and financial advancement. A much better case could be made for these policies, at least in the opinion of this reviewer—who believes that industrial development does not necessarily entail "the exploitation of human labor," and that "conservative" is not necessarily a reproachful word; who questions whether Clay after the War of 1812 sharply switched his emphasis from "human" to "property" rights or whether he should be classed as a "conservative" (with reproachful connotations) for preferring Jefferson's approach to the slavery issue and opposing the fanatical abolitionists; who thinks the time has passed when, without proper qualifications, the Whig party should be treated as the party of property and aristocracy, or the struggles of the Jackson epoch simplified into a fight "between business and democracy." If such adverse reflections come to the mind of the scholar, he will no doubt remind himself of the severe space limitations imposed upon the author. Having with great difficulty shortened these remarks about the book by one half, this reviewer is not unsympathetic. Great indeed must have been the pressure for simplification upon an author who within the limits of two hundred pages writes a rounded biography of a man who for forty years was in the forefront of all the complexities of American life. Such reflections should not obscure the many solid virtues the volume has for the general reader as an introduction to "Gallant Harry of the West."

*University of Virginia* BERNARD MAYO

THE COLUMBIA RIVER: OR SCENES AND ADVENTURES DURING A RESIDENCE OF SIX YEARS ON THE WESTERN SIDE OF THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS AMONG VARIOUS TRIBES OF INDIANS HITHERTO UNKNOWN; TOGETHER WITH "A JOURNEY ACROSS THE AMERICAN CONTINENT." By *Ross Cox*. Edited and with an introduction by *Edgar I.* and *Jane R. Stewart*. [American Exploration and Travel Series.] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1957. Pp. xxxiii, 398. $5.75.) With the narratives of Gabriel Franchère and Alexander Ross, Cox's description of the Pacific Northwest fur trade between 1811 and 1817 is one of three major accounts by contemporaries, the last to appear in edited and indexed form. The editors have made excellent use of the opportunity to compare statements of different witnesses. They have supplied exceedingly useful information identifying persons, places, and events. In their historical introduction the editors have made it plain that Ross Cox, bibliographically and historically important, was a cipher in the business of the Pacific Fur Company and the North West Company. Unfortunately, the introduction is discursive and weakened by an inept style peppered with redundancies, lonesome pronouns, *non sequiturs,* and awkward phrasing. These habits of writing continue in the notes, too many of which seem the result of rapid writing, e.g., the suggestion that Cox's companions thought of him as a tenderfoot, a designation that did not appear until about 1850, and the unsupported remark that "cruelty of Indians to all dumb animals is proverbial."

*University of Oregon Library* MARTIN SCHMITT

ROADS, RAILS AND WATERWAYS: THE ARMY ENGINEERS AND EARLY TRANSPORTATION. By *Forest G. Hill*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1957. Pp. xi, 248. $4.00.) This volume presents the history of transportation achievements in the American West following the War of 1812, with emphasis upon the role of the Army engineers. That national defense and internal improvements were complementary

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and interdependent was recognized early in our national history. The military value of internal improvements justified the participation of the War Department. The lack of private engineers and the inability of the War Department to educate and furnish a sufficient number of men trained in this field led to the development of West Point as an institution offering systematic instruction in engineering. The Academy thus served as a primary source of academically trained engineers for at least three decades. Professor Hill presents the thesis that the development of engineering science may be regarded as a social cost which the federal government helped to bear and which produced far-reaching social benefits. In addition to tracing the history of West Point, the author concerns himself with an administrative study of military organization in its relationship to transportation. Prior to 1838, the Corps of Engineers and Topographical Engineers had overlapping and contradictory functions; foreign engineers were often temporarily given employment with these agencies as civilians, and line officers were periodically assigned topographical duty. Some administrative improvement occurred when defense projects were assigned to the Corps of Engineers and civil works to the Bureau of Topographical Engineers. Moreover, the practice of granting furloughs to military engineers in order to work for canal and railroad companies was terminated. Army commissions had to be forfeited by those seeking private employment. The Army engineers eagerly assumed responsibility in facilitating national expansion to the West. From the very beginning they were explorers and surveyors, as well as builders. They pioneered in charting the waters of the Great Lakes, in locating routes for wagon trains and military detachments, and in conducting topographical examinations for a Pacific railroad. As scientific builders, they emphasized canal construction, but railroads were a continuing rival for attention. From the civilian standpoint, road building, river dredging, and harbor improvements were perhaps the most important contributions of the Corps to encouraging settlement and stimulating commerce. The inadequacy of engineering knowledge, acute in 1815, was so completely overcome by the 1830's that Hill insists the failure to institute a more elaborate system of internal improvements was due more to unresolved constitutional and sectional issues than to lack of technical ability. Although this study purports to consider the interrelationships of military and transportation history up to the time of the Civil War, the emphasis is placed upon the period prior to 1845. Developments following the Mexican War receive slight attention, and therefore the study includes little about the trans-Mississippi West. Hill has examined the literature relating to his subject, has culled the federal government documents for evidence, and where these have proved inadequate, has examined the manuscript sources of the War Department in the National Archives. His book is sound and is destined to become a standard reference work.

*University of California, Davis* W. Turrentine Jackson

BRITONS IN AMERICAN LABOR: A HISTORY OF THE INFLUENCE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM IMMIGRANTS ON AMERICAN LABOR, 1820–1914. By *Clifton K. Yearley, Jr.* [Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LXXV, Number 1.] (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins Press. 1957. Pp. 332, ix. $4.00.) Dr. Yearley's title is misleading (as well as unidiomatic), for his book covers not only British immigrants in the American labor movement but also the spread of labor-reform ideas across the Atlantic by means other than immigration. As he notes, labor leaders in the United States might be either "British-born or British-inspired," "American eclecticism" accounted for the taking over of many British precedents, and comparable industrial conditions in the two countries led to "considerable parallelism" between their labor movements. Even some of the Scots and Englishmen who agitated in America, Macdonald, Hughes, Mundella, Holyoake, were in no sense immigrants.

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Certain others, who were immigrants, learned their unionism or socialism after coming to America; Thomas J. Morgan, after all, only looked "like a Chartist." Yearley does not come to grips with this perhaps insoluble problem of distinguishing specifically immigrant influences. For that matter, he is often unable to establish that any sort of British influence was essential to American developments. This may be inevitable, but he is too quick to brush past inconclusive evidence by asserting that "we are entitled to believe" that some such influence was "undeniable." A more fundamental shortcoming is his disregard of British ideas, of both trade unionism and cooperation, as ideas. He only outlines the various reform programs and nowhere seriously analyzes their presuppositions, content, or relevance to contemporary thought. "Self-help," for example, was not merely the "marvelously Victorian" slogan that crosses the ocean in this book. In short, we have here a rather superficial, though engagingly written, account of the activities of certain British individuals connected in various ways with the American labor movement. Most of the trade unionists among them are already well known. On a few figures in the cooperative movement Yearley's findings are fresher but less consequential; the movement hardly depended on Thomas Phillips or John Samuel. The author's difficulties with this thesis topic elicit sympathy; not so the many superfluous or missing footnotes, misspelled names ("Glenmorganshire," Ira "Stewart"), and maldistributed commas.

*Princeton University* ROWLAND BERTHOFF

HOMEWARD TO ZION: THE MORMON MIGRATION FROM SCANDINAVIA. By *William Mulder*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1957. Pp. xii, 375. $7.50.) The story spans the lifetime of Canute Peterson, who was given the blessing and the promise of Patriarch John Smith in 1844 and who died in 1902 in Utah after the achievement of his inheritance. But the book is not a sustained tracing of individual or family histories. The grand panorama is constructed like a mosaic, with phrases, quotations, and occasionally a paragraph from the innumerable biographies of the Saints, from memoirs, letters, and financial records. Scandinavians seemed to be particularly attuned to the appeal of the Mormon missionaries, and they made up such a large segment of the population of Deseret that they deserve this special treatment. Of the thirty thousand who "gathered" in the half century after 1850, fifty per cent were Danes, reversing the proportions of the Scandinavian immigration as a whole. It was the religious factor, functioning first in the home environment in a negative manner, then in the migration as a stimulant, that gave the Mormon migration its special character. Religious organization and purpose provided economic help in the purchase of tickets and increased family participation in the movement; experience with earlier English gatherers to Zion created a pattern for the organization and shepherding of large groups; religion inspired mutual assistance in time of trouble, and it promised a vision of the future both temporal and eternal. The church provided a basis for attempts at communal ownership and especially the development of the cooperative societies for which the Scandinavians appeared to have a penchant. Important in the process of Americanization was the fact that the Scandinavian Saints in Utah were quickly blended in with their English and native American coreligionists and thus lost their national languages significantly sooner than did their fellow Scandinavians who established the Lutheran or dissenter communities in the Middle West. Dr. Mulder has given a sympathetic yet realistic account, not failing to record the backtrailing and defecting, but keeping in focus the main trend. He shows polygamy to have played a part, but hardly a determining part, in both the Scandinavian emigration and the development of Utah. The account of the careful economic planning of the missionaries and the home church and the details of personal financing are rare in the annals of migration.

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The book is a scholarly and highly readable treatment of a special yet fascinating chapter in the building of America, set against the background of northern Europe.

*Northwestern University* FRANKLIN D. SCOTT

ORVILLE H. BROWNING: LINCOLN'S FRIEND AND CRITIC. By *Maurice G. Baxter.* [Indiana University Publications, Social Science Series, Number 16.] (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1957. Pp. vii, 351.) As the subtitle suggests, it is true that Orville Hickman Browning's chief claim to present interest among students of American history lies in his relationship with Abraham Lincoln, whom he consistently evaluated through a haze of honest if inhibited self-appreciation as something less than a great man in local Illinois political circles and as something worse than a simple failure as President of the disunited nation. Nevertheless, the author demonstrates that a well-documented biography of a stuffy but intelligent lawyer-politician who managed throughout a long life to hold the respect of a large portion of the conservative Whigs and Republicans of Illinois, and later even a fair share of the conservative Republicans and Democrats in Washington, can fill a niche in history better than the seldom read but often cited diary kept by his subject for more than thirty years. The value of the book lies in its restrained, not to say unenthusiastic, recording of plain and generally (among students of the period) known facts. As the author has summarized his subject, Browning "was not a man of great stature. . . . Yet he led a worthy life, one that was closely associated with the growth of his state to a modern industrial commonwealth and with the survival of his country after a momentous sectional conflict." Thus the author performs for Browning a service superior to that which Browning in his diary and letters performed for his friend Lincoln.

*Library of Congress* ROY P. BASLER

MR. LINCOLN'S NAVY. By *Richard S. West, Jr.* (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1957. Pp. xiii, 328. $6.50.) The opening chapters of this book tell of the Navy's loss of personnel and bases before the bombardment of Fort Sumter and its lack of preparation for a major conflict. Succeeding chapters describe how the Navy, under the vigorous leadership of Gideon Welles, rid itself of dead timber in men and ships and evolved into the potent instrument that established a blockade of the Southern coast, cooperated with the Army in regaining control of the Mississippi River, carried out amphibious operations with land forces against important Confederate seaports, and cleared the high seas of enemy raiders. These accomplishments, together with the Navy's adjustment to novel fighting conditions and the changes wrought by modern technology, make up a story of epic proportions. Unfortunately the book communicates to the reader little of the drama and not enough of the meaning of the Navy's role in the war. In comparison with the author's earlier works, the biographies of Admiral D. D. Porter and Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles, this book is deficient in style of writing, depth of presentation, and analysis of material. Judging by the relatively few citations (there is no bibliography), the author has concentrated mainly upon obvious primary sources to the exclusion of certain well-known monographs and general treatments. He seems not to have mastered the general literature of the Civil War, and as a result the book suffers from a lack of sound interpretation of background material. One of the greatest disappointments is the treatment of the blockade. There is neither an adequate account of the problems in establishing an effective blockade nor an evaluation of the Navy's accomplishments in this great enterprise. The chapters describing the opening of the Mississippi, the Red River campaign, and the capture of Fort Fisher are the best. Although maps are furnished to illustrate various crucial areas, strangely

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enough none is available for the region around Wilmington, the last great seaport open to blockade-runners.

*Lafayette College* EDWIN B. CODDINGTON

RAILROADS IN ALABAMA POLITICS, 1875–1914. By *James F. Doster.* (University: University of Alabama Press. 1957. Pp. x, 273. Cloth $5.00, paper $4.00.) "In dealing with railroads," Professor Doster writes, "Alabama received its first taste of the public problems of an industrial society. Clashes and conflicts were due more to misunderstanding than anything else, for the people needed good transportation service and strong, well-managed railroads. The railroad corporations, on the other hand, needed public good will for successful development and profitable operations. In the long run both people and railroads would prosper or languish together." This passage strikes the keynote of a clearly told, fairly balanced, and fully documented story of the part played by railroads during four decades of Alabama politics in which they were both an unwilling "issue" in public affairs and perforce participants in the political process. "To be effective," the author concludes, necessary public controls of corporate activities "must be applied with honesty, thorough knowledge, and restraint." That this was not always done in the period and the place covered by the story is apparent, but it is equally apparent that the mistakes, misconceptions, and lack of restraint were by no means all on one side. Doster's judicious study should lessen the chance of future misunderstandings of this sort. An interesting feature of this valuable volume is a series of maps of important railway systems serving Alabama as they existed at different points of time during the period covered.

*Alexandria, Virginia* ROBERT S. HENRY

STUDIES IN SOUTHERN HISTORY IN MEMORY OF ALBERT RAY NEWSOME, 1894–1951, BY HIS FORMER STUDENTS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA. Edited by *J. Carlyle Sitterson.* [James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science, Volume 39.] (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1957. Pp. viii, 168. $2.50.) Four of the essays in this memorial volume deal with local North Carolina history; two are concerned with Civil War topics; four deal with men and events in the period from Reconstruction to the New Deal. All are of good quality; two, Arthur S. Link's "The Cotton Crisis and Anglo-American Diplomacy, 1914–1915," and Lawrence F. London's "Confederate Literature and Its Publishers," are especially valuable as contributions to neglected fields. On the local level, James R. Caldwell, Jr., shows that there was considerably more religious activity in the Carolina back country in colonial times than has usually been assumed, and Charles Grier Sellers points out the importance of local Whig efforts in pushing forward the Revolution. For the student of agricultural history Cornelius O. Cathey explains why North Carolina was able to do better with her food supply during the Civil War than were her neighbors. J. Carlyle Sitterson upsets some of the old notions regarding the later industrial development of the South in his study of North Carolina business leaders. No work dealing with local history of the South would be complete without reference to such men as William Blount, David Swain, Hoke Smith, and Eugene Talmadge, and the essays here on each of these men are done with insight and a fairness not always accorded. That dealing with David Swain is particularly good. This volume shows how good local history has national value and makes clear the fact that Albert Ray Newsome was not only a stimulating teacher but a sound director of independent research.

*University of Chicago* AVERY CRAVEN

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McIVER OF NORTH CAROLINA. By *Rose Howell Holder*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1957. Pp. xi, 283. $5.00.) "Educate a man and you educate an individual; educate a woman and you educate a family." This was battle cry and advertising slogan for Charles Duncan McIver, first president of what has become the largest residential college for women in America, Woman's College of the University of North Carolina. An energetic evangelist for education, McIver, along with his lifelong friends, E. A. Alderman, C. B. Aycock, and a few others, helped awaken a laggard North Carolina, and indeed a whole Southern region, around the turn of the century and led them into an educational renascence. Declaring that "nothing except ignorance is more costly than education," young McIver fought first for his "Normal and Industrial School" in Greensboro. It was established in 1891. Then he successively and successfully dealt with public indifference and hostility, penny-pinching representatives of a poverty-stricken people, and jealous heads of the sectarian colleges who vociferously opposed state support for "Godless Education." After 1900 McIver moved on to a larger stage of activity and usefulness when he became identified with the Conference for Education in the South. He worked closely with Robert C. Ogden, George Foster Peabody, and such prominent Southern educators as Drs. J. L. M. Curry and Charles W. Dabney. The philanthropists and teachers organized the Southern Education Board in 1901, and McIver became one of the district directors. Until he died in 1906 at the age of forty-five, he continued the work that paid such large dividends for his native state and region and, ultimately, the nation. McIver's short, full life exemplified his own faith: "The teacher is the seed corn of civilization. None but the best is good enough to use." Mrs. Holder is at her best in the early portions of her book where she charmingly describes the Scot, Presbyterian, and plantation roots that nourished McIver. An index and bibliographical notes enhance the value of this first full-length biography, but in the latter half excessive dependence on chronology leads to some confusion and repetition. In dealing with many of the broader forces that affected McIver's career, such as political and racial pressures, the author is much less successful than in making the reader admire the genial educational dynamo.

*Duke University* ROBERT F. DURDEN

CORNFLAKE CRUSADE. By *Gerald Carson*. (New York: Rinehart and Company. 1957. Pp. xii, 305. $4.95.) The dry ready-to-eat cereal industry was built at the crowded intersection of dietary faddism, religious ultraism, and flamboyant merchandising. Vegetarian doctrines, based on Biblical injunctions against eating meat, became a popular standard for revolt against the bad eating habits that made dyspepsia a well-nigh universal nineteenth-century ailment. These doctrines had a salutary impact, but they sometimes went to extremes, as in the 1863 dietary vision of the Seventh Day Adventist prophetess, Ellen G. White. The Adventists established a health center in Battle Creek, Michigan, and in time sent a young man to medical school so that he would have the professional stature to run it. Although John Harvey Kellogg was so much of a scientist that he broke with the Adventists, the policies of the sanitarium which he directed remained nutritionally left wing. It was his brother, Will Keith, and a former patient, Charles W. Post, who separately had the vision and skill to turn the kind of flaked grains that Dr. Kellogg prescribed at the "San" into multimillion dollar fortunes. It suggests much to state that the first name for Post Toasties was Elijah's Manna. Written for popular consumption, Carson's *Cornflake Crusade* is a better work of history than most volumes by nonprofessionals who compose for the mass market. The research is extensive and reveals a use of manuscript and pamphlet sources difficult of access. While most of the space is devoted to a lively telling of the tales of the key characters, ample background is provided. The perspective is broad, and the narrower breakfast food

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chronicle is tied well at many points to broader themes in dietary, medical, religious, and marketing history.

*Emory University* JAMES HARVEY YOUNG

THE CABINET DIARY OF WILLIAM L. WILSON, 1896–1897. Edited by *Festus P. Summers*. With an introduction by *Newton D. Baker*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1957. Pp. xxvii, 276. $5.00.) Every student of the nineties will want to read William L. Wilson's informative diary of the last fourteen months of the Cleveland administration. Wilson, as Cleveland's second postmaster general, kept the only cabinet diary during this period. Not only does Wilson's personal record reflect the turbulence of these months but it pictures the foreboding problems of the McKinley administration. Wilson, a renegade college classics teacher—he was frequently called the "scholar in politics"—represented the best in the Democratic party during the late nineteenth century; he was a strong advocate of democracy and foe of privilege, a champion of low tariff, sound money, and civil service reform, and an opponent of Populism. From the pages of his diary we see Cleveland bent over his desk meticulously weighing pension claims and congressional bills, the crushing social life of official Washington, and vignettes of important political and business leaders. Above all we read of the hesitations, doubts, worries, hopes, and aches and pains of Wilson himself. Quite obviously the diary was not written for publication. Seldom do we read of a man's displeasure with his own procrastination and lack of self-discipline, especially when he is called upon to speak or prepare an article. Apparently Wilson suffered needlessly, for he is known as a compelling speaker and a lucid writer. Newton D. Baker's splendid opening essay provides a perfect introduction to the diary. Festus P. Summers' editing is admirable and set this reviewer to rereading his first-rate biography of Wilson. His "Glossary of Persons," relegated to the end of the book, may disturb some readers who prefer notes and identifications at the bottom of the page.

*Ohio State University* EVERETT WALTERS

LOUIS MARSHALL, CHAMPION OF LIBERTY: SELECTED PAPERS AND ADDRESSES. Volumes I and II. Edited by *Charles Reznikoff*. Introduction by *Oscar Handlin*. (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America. 1957. Pp. xliii, 500; vi, 501–1196. $10.00 the set.) The twelve hundred pages of Louis Marshall's writings presented in this two-volume work amply demonstrate the justification of his being termed "Champion of Liberty." Much of his time, particularly during the last three decades of his career as a leader of the New York bar (Marshall died in 1929), was given over to letter writing, speech making, and organizational work in the interests of defending Jews and other minority groups in the United States from being discriminated against in employment, education, the professions, the armed forces, immigration, and in the exercise of constitutional and political rights. Similarly, Marshall was deeply interested in the rights of Jews abroad and was active in urging the President and the State Department to see that the treaty making power was so used as best to aid in their defense. He was one of the chief promoters of the establishment of the American Jewish Committee, philanthropic efforts in behalf of recent Jewish immigrants, and the Jewish Theological Seminary in America; he vigorously opposed the Zionist movement. Strong for liberty, he was, however, far from being a consistent liberal. While economic injustice per se and the plight of the underprivileged must have troubled so warmhearted a man, he nevertheless opposed minimum wage and workmen's compensation laws and the child labor amendment; he was particularly proud of his victory, as leading counsel, on the ticket scalpers' side in *Tyson* v. *Banton*. The apparent contradiction is explained in terms of close adherence to a substantive interpretation of due process and to the

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conviction that "the Tenth Amendment . . . in many respects is to be regarded as the very heart of our organic law." At the same time, his zeal for the cause of conservation was sufficient for him to assume the leadership in the antistate side of the legal battle in *Missouri* v. *Holland*. Marshall's writings on these and other objects of his interests are here arranged in twelve chapters, according to subject matter. A thirty-five-page introduction by Oscar Handlin gives a sympathetic review of Marshall's career. Notes by the editor are very helpful in satisfying the reader's curiosity as to the relative effectiveness of Marshall's advocacy of each of the manifold causes he espoused. The distinguished effectiveness of Marshall's own writing makes this work a colorful exposition of many issues and philosophies that played dominant roles in American social and political history during the first thirty years of the current century.

*University of Michigan* LEWIS G. VANDER VELDE

WILLIAM E. BORAH AND THE OUTLAWRY OF WAR. By *John Chalmers Vinson*. (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1957. Pp. x, 212. $4.50.) Exploiting for the first time in this connection Borah's personal correspondence and numerous scrapbooks in the Library of Congress, Professor Vinson has attempted to project the Idaho senator's specific role in the events leading to the Kellogg-Briand Pact against his general views on "the problem of America's proper responsibility in promoting world peace." The volume follows Borah's career from 1917 to 1931, but the author warns in the preface that "it is not a biography and not a complete examination of his foreign policy." Almost a third of the text deals with Borah's attitudes toward the First World War, the Versailles Treaty, Harding's proposed association of nations, and the Washington Conference. Even when the main theme is reached, the author quite properly discusses at length such parallel developments as the battle over the World Court. Better than anyone else, Vinson underscores Borah's hesitation in committing himself wholeheartedly to the outlawry of war and describes his close relations with Secretary Kellogg in 1927–1928. He clearly demonstrates that the Pact of Paris embodied Borah's basic philosophy on foreign affairs, "for it did not entangle the United States in European politics, it was not an alliance, it did not obligate the United States, and it was not based on the use of force." Despite careful research, the author's contribution is disappointingly slight. The background chapters are uneven in quality, and in places the judgments seem inconsistent. The main body of the work is needlessly repetitious and detailed for what it says. Almost everything significantly new could have been compressed into a single article. The story of how the pressure of public opinion compelled the reluctant diplomats to conclude a treaty renouncing war has already been told with greater breadth, imagination, and literary skill by Robert H. Ferrell in *Peace in Their Time* (1952) and, to a lesser extent, by John E. Stoner in *S. O. Levinson and the Pact of Paris* (1942). It is to be hoped, therefore, that henceforth Vinson will set his sights a little higher and turn his undoubted capacity for research to more fruitful topics, such as a biography of Borah or a comprehensive study of his influence upon American foreign policy. In future works he would do well to call upon some professional friend to read his manuscript and thereby eliminate the minor inaccuracies and stylistic crudities that detract from the enjoyment and value of this book.

*Northwestern University* RICHARD W. LEOPOLD

WILSON'S FOREIGN POLICY IN PERSPECTIVE. Edited by *Edward H. Buehrig*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1957. Pp. 176. $4.50.) It is difficult to do full justice to this volume in a brief review. The fact that it consists of lectures delivered during the Wilson centennial year and is therefore a part of the general outpouring provoked by the commemoration should not be permitted to prejudice potential readers.

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These are not warmed-over lectures or sentimental reminiscences. They are all quite sharp analyses of various aspects of Wilson's foreign policy by men who have something to say. This is no mean achievement, and Professor Buehrig and his committee, who arranged the presentation of the series at Indiana University, deserve much credit for a good job. Persuading President Seymour, the dean of Wilson scholars, to deliver the opening lecture was a master stroke with important results—the reevaluation of the part that Colonel House played in Wilson's diplomacy by the man best qualified to define it. House's role as Seymour now sees it is much more limited than the one described in *The Intimate Papers of Colonel House*. Some scholars will protest that Seymour still fails to see what they would call the fatal flaws in House's character; be that as it may, even the Colonel's severest critics will find much with which to agree in Seymour's measured estimate. Buehrig, intrigued as so many other scholars by Wilson's vision of collective security, has devoted his essay to probing the origins of this dream. Clearly and explicitly he describes them as deriving from Wilson's and House's own thinking about the problem of mutual security in the Western Hemisphere and from Sir Edward Grey's insistence upon American participation in a postwar security system. This is by no means new, but it is well to have the matter discussed so clearly and cogently, within the large framework of the development of American foreign policy. Professors Vinacke and Bemis, in contrast, epitomize Wilson's regional policies on a very broad scale, in the Far East and Latin America, respectively. Their analyses, breath-taking in scope, are both eminently successful and (this reviewer believes) sound. They both see beyond the immediate—and perhaps inevitable—failures of Wilsonian diplomacy in these broad areas of the earth to the long-range vindication of Wilsonian idealism. Bemis, especially, makes much of this important point. Then finally comes the analysis by Sir Llewellyn Woodward. It is refreshing to read so emphatic a repudiation of Lord Keynes's cruel caricature of Wilson (given in that catastrophic tract, *The Economic Consequences of the Peace*) by so eminent a British historian. Sir Llewellyn does more, however, by proceeding to his own judicious judgment on the weaknesses and strengths of Wilson the diplomatist. The only fault this reviewer can find with the volume is its title. It implies too much, for these essays deal only with certain aspects of Wilson's foreign policy, not with the whole. But the defect is a minor one indeed in such a fine contribution to our understanding of the man who stood at the crossroads of modern history and helped determine the direction in which his nation would go in the future.

*Northwestern University* ARTHUR S. LINK

WOODROW WILSON AND THE WORLD OF TODAY: ESSAYS BY ARTHUR S. LINK, WILLIAM L. LANGER, ERIC F. GOLDMAN. Edited by *Arthur P. Dudden*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1957. Pp. x, 96. $2.75.) In January, 1956, Bryn Mawr College celebrated the Woodrow Wilson centenary by sponsoring four lectures on important aspects of Wilson's career. Arthur S. Link spoke on Wilson as a political leader, and Eric Goldman on Wilson's management of the war. William L. Langer gave two addresses on Wilson and foreign relations, one concentrating on the prewar problems of neutrality, the other on the fight over the Peace Treaty and the League of Nations. These papers have now been published in book form. As might have been expected, given the subject, Link's contribution is the most profound and thorough, but since most of what he says has now appeared in the second volume of his biography of Wilson, the benefit obtained by publishing his talk is not very great. Goldman's effort, a routine summary of Wilson's handling of the home front, gives due weight to the subject's masterful leadership without minimizing his curious failures in

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the civil liberty area. Goldman tends to devote too much space to the uncritical recounting of questionable if colorful anecdotes from the memoirs of men such as Tumulty and Creel, but his summary of the war years is basically sound. Langer's two chapters develop the thesis that almost from the start of the war in Europe Wilson saw himself as the architect of peace and a new world order and that all his actions were based on this vision. Langer's view of Wilson is the most sympathetic. He says, in summary, that Wilson's failings were "mostly those of his generation." However unrealistic, Langer argues by way of example, Wilson's idealism had wide support in the United States throughout the war period. All these papers present clearly stated points of view. Thus, while they are not of primary importance to the profession, they make interesting reading of the sort that should be valuable to undergraduates.

*Michigan State University* JOHN A. GARRATY

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT AND CONSERVATION, 1911–1945. Volume I, 1911–1937; Volume II, 1937–1945. Compiled and edited by *Edgar B. Nixon*. (Hyde Park, N. Y.: Franklin D. Roosevelt Library. 1957. Pp. xiv, 614; 700. $9.50 the set.) This is a chronological compilation, with notes and cross references, of President Roosevelt's experiences with conservation. It is a first, and a very earnest, attempt to deal with a puzzling problem for archivists: How shall they go about making the tremendous masses of miscellaneous material confined to their care more available and more meaningful to the scholars and commentators who may care to use them? The Hyde Park officials resolved to try here a topical arrangement; the heading of "conservation" was probably chosen for no particularly good reason over a large number of others that must have offered themselves. The technique does show how a persistent life interest of a public man who rises to importance will run like a conspicuous thread through his correspondence and papers, how he will try again and again to get something done, having some successes and some failures. But it leaves out so much related material that it serves also to show the limitations of the method. Mr. Nixon has worked faithfully at this project for many years and has certainly done as thorough a job as could be wished. He must have had problems of selection and choice at nearly every step. There are many loose ends in the volume, however, where solutions or decisions made in conferences of which no documentary record was made are not included. Another problem, beginning during the Roosevelt years, which has made special difficulties both for archivists and historians, can be seen in the present collection. The papers of any President from Roosevelt on will be those not so much of a man as of an institution. The separation of what is personal and what is staff work will become more and more difficult. President Roosevelt dictated many of his letters, but there is hardly a speech that was not the result of an elaborate process of gathering and welding together many ideas from many sources. The only sense in which it can be said they were the President's own is that he approved them; many documents must have been produced and signed as the purest routine. It is certainly not less but more important that there should be presidential leadership in this growingly complex and precarious world, and historians of every administration will want to study that leadership for itself. But how it will be possible to reveal the decision making process and, equally important, the subsequent maneuvering for the acceptance of decisions is hard to see. The archivists' tasks are likely to become more difficult as they become more important. Hard and long as Nixon has worked at this compilation, it can be seen that it only partially succeeds in achieving the purpose for which it was intended. This is not the editor's fault but that of the times and of the material.

*Greenbelt, Maryland* R. G. TUGWELL

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FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1940. In five volumes. Volume II, GENERAL AND EUROPE. [Department of State Publication 6496.] (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office. 1957. Pp. v, 915. $4.00.) This volume continues the printing of general documents begun in the first volume for 1940 and then passes to European countries, going as far down the alphabet as Switzerland. The 342 pages of general documents pertain to neutrality policy, repatriation of Americans from Europe, refugee assistance, and efforts by the United States to stockpile strategic materials; also included are a few pages on what by 1940 were almost dead issues, the League of Nations and the war debts from the First World War. In the pages on American relations with specific countries of Europe, the bulk of the documents pertains to France (286 pages): maintenance of relations with Vichy, concern over disposition of the French fleet, interest in political and economic conditions in French North Africa. In the main it is difficult to find any fault with the Department of State's selection of documents, which seems to be thorough. This is a considerable achievement in view of the rapidly increasing number of documents filed by the department as the 1930's changed into the hectic 1940's. Perhaps *Foreign Relations* for the years after 1940 will have to run to more than the customary five volumes per year. The only alternative will be the most careful selection of topics for inclusion in the series. In the present volume some cutting would have been possible, for example, in the forty-three pages on representations to Spain regarding American interests in the Spanish National Telephone Company. A further suggestion, of a different sort, would be to improve the indexes to these bulging volumes, in particular, by including proper names and enlarging the subject index. Perhaps such a chore is now impossible because of the unfortunate congressional demand that documents on the wartime conferences be published ahead of volumes in the regular series.

*Indiana University* ROBERT H. FERRELL

STILWELL'S COMMAND PROBLEMS. By *Charles F. Romanus* and *Riley Sunderland*. [U. S. Army in World War II: History of the China-Burma-India Theater.] (Washington, D. C.: Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army. 1956. Pp. xviii, 518. $6.25.) General Joseph W. (Vinegar Joe) Stilwell was a name that rode tall in the headlines through World War II. And well it might. He shared with Generals MacArthur and Eisenhower the distinction of being an American, overseas, theater-of-war commander. To Americans everywhere, his name was synonymous with China-Burma-India (CBI), a large slice of the globe. That this theater was the stepchild of Allied war effort is generally accepted. A few have challenged the validity of any major victory claims in that theater. All agree that such fruits of victory as were harvested were indeed bitter. General Stilwell was the only theater commander who was summarily relieved while shooting was in progress. Americans dislike unpleasant contemporary history. Hence, compared to writings of other theaters and sea frontiers, the CBI literature is scarce, conflicting, and confusing. *Stilwell's Command Problems* is the second of a three-volume series on the CBI by the Military History Section of the Department of the Army. It continues *Stilwell's Mission to China* and encompasses the period October, 1943, to Stilwell's relief, November, 1944. The book is in part paralleled by other narratives. Pertinent sources touch upon its scope intermittently. But actually the book is alone within its field and is likely to remain so for many years to come. It tells a difficult and most complicated story. The authors are to be congratulated upon having brought it off so well, and it is hardly their fault that its reading adds up to a rather melancholy tale. Their viewpoint is from Stilwell's headquarters, such as detached, objective, intimately informed visiting staff officers might have were they there with no responsibility other than to know, evaluate, and comment. Seldom in

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history has an officer had so many assignments, titles, and, in the worst Oriental tradition, such nebulous authority as did Stilwell. The potential for tremendous authority was present should the encumbent of all those assignments and the wearer of all those titles prove himself a well-poised, cooperative diplomat, an adroit negotiator, and a suave coordinator as well as an aggressive military strategist and tactician. Vinegar Joe Stilwell did not have any of these attributes, otherwise his sour nickname from World War I would not have clung to him for his remaining years. That General Stilwell was so unacquainted with his own limitations that he tenaciously clung to all assignments within range of annexation and delegated so little to others is conclusive evidence of an inability to grow to the status of a theater commander. He appears to have been over his head when beyond a corps headquarters, and he neglected the high-level duties for those of lower echelons, where he understood the work better. From a nightmare of low-level command relations, to the neglect of higher duties with Chiang Kai-shek in Kunming, it is astounding that anything was accomplished. The all-out, well-coordinated attack by all Allied divisions never came off. Stilwell began looking toward Mao Tsi-tung's Communist Chinese divisions as a solution—as if he did not already have more Chinese command troubles than he could handle. In October, 1944, Chiang Kai-shek, through his ambassador in Washington, achieved Stilwell's recall. Charles R. Romanus and Riley Sunderland are to be commended upon a most difficult task so well done.

*Wisconsin State College (Superior, Wisconsin)* JIM DAN HILL

## LATIN AMERICA

BIBLIOGRAFÍA HISTÓRICA DE ESPAÑA E HISPANOMÉRICA. Volume II, 1955–1956. [Índice Histórico Español, Numbers 9–15.] (Barcelona: Editorial Teide for the Centro de Estudios Históricos Internacionales, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Universidad de Barcelona. 1957. Pp. xxxi, 1088.) This volume republishes in bound form the 1955–1956 issues of *Índice Histórico Español,* the invaluable quarterly bibliography of Spanish and Hispanic American history produced by a devoted group of Spanish and foreign historians headed by Jaime Vicens Vives of the University of Barcelona. The entries, each with a summary and evaluation of content, reach the staggering total of 15,741; this includes reviews as well as books and articles. The bound edition also contains Vicens Vives' brief survey of biennial historiographical trends, a bibliographical essay by J. M. Lacarra on Spanish medieval studies, 1952–1955, and a full author and subject index. It should be noted that henceforth the work will appear annually, the 1957 volume being now in preparation.

*University of Virginia* C. J. BISHKO

CABILDOS DE SANTA FE DE BOGOTÁ, CABEZA DEL NUEVO REINO DE GRANADA, 1538–1810. Edited by *Enrique Ortega Ricaurte,* assisted by *Ana Rueda Briceño.* [Publicación del Archivo Nacional de Colombia.] (Bogotá: Empresa Nacional de Publicaciones. 1957. Pp. viii, 297.) This selection of documents, mainly from various collections in the National Archive of Colombia, covers the activities and acts of the *cabildo* (city council) of Bogotá through the years from 1538 to 1810. The documents deal with all types of matters considered by the *cabildo* and indicate the action taken in each case. Subjects treated include: powers of attorney extended to individuals to represent the *cabildo* in various matters, appointments made, granting of municipal lands to individuals, reception of officials, especially those arriving from Spain, authorizations for the payment of expenses, celebration of religious festivals, including the participation of the *cabildo,* price fixing of wheat and corn; problems of meat sup-

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ply, control of the sale of foodstuffs and liquor, the water supply of the city, roads, and election of ordinary alcaldes. The final document is the act of the *cabildo* declaring independence from Spain in 1810. The volume gives a vivid picture of the activity of the *cabildo* in carrying out its functions during the colonial period. Dr. Enrique Ortega, with the assistance of Ana Rueda Briceño, has performed a worthy service to Colombian historiography in preparing and publishing this excellent volume, a notable addition to the long list of publications of the National Archive of Colombia.

*Washington, D. C.* ROSCOE R. HILL

ÍNDICE Y EXTRACTOS DEL ARCHIVO DE PROTOCOLOS DE LA HABANA, 1588. By *María Teresa de Rojas.* (Havana: Ediciones C. R. 1957. Pp. xiii, 385.) This third volume of indexes and extracts of the notarial registers of the Archivo de Protocolos of Havana by María Teresa de Rojas pertains to the records of the Notary Martín Calvo de la Puerta for the year 1588. The original volume comprises 654 folios with 455 documents. The entries for each document give full details of dates, persons involved, and the subject. In many instances the complete text or an extensive extract of important documents is given. Included are powers of attorney, contracts for the sale of property or other business transactions, wills, and many other matters requiring notarial attestation. The documents reveal much regarding the economic development, the ideas and customs of the society, and the feelings of the creoles of Havana in the sixteenth century. There are indexes of subjects, persons, places, ranches, and ships. This is a valuable contribution to Cuban historiography, and Miss de Rojas is to be congratulated for her efficient labors in the Archivo de Protocolos.

*Washington, D. C.* ROSCOE R. HILL

PADRONES DE LA CIUDAD Y CAMPAÑA DE BUENOS AIRES (1726–1810). [Documentos para la Historia Argentina, Volume X.] (Buenos Aires: Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Universidad de Buenos Aires; distrib. by Peuser, Buenos Aires. 1955. Pp. xxiii, 796.) Together with Volumes XI and XII of the series *Documentos para la Historia Argentina,* this book, the last to be published, completes a project listing the people inhabiting the city and province of Buenos Aires in the years from 1726 to 1810. The three volumes are the work of Dr. Emilio Ravignani, who meticulously gathered the data in the Archivo General de la Nación. The present volume is dedicated to Ravignani, founder of the Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, by the new director, Dr. Ricardo R. Caillet-Bois. Ravignani's sudden death in 1954 prevented his writing the prologue with which he proposed to introduce the first volume of his project. In its place the new director appropriately has reprinted an article by Ravignani entitled "Crecimiento de la población de Buenos Aires y su campaña (1726–1810)," which first appeared in the *Anales de la Facultad de Ciencias Económicas,* I (1919), 405–16. Reprinted in the meticulous, accurate, word-for-word transcription so common to the publications of the Instituto, the documents in the collection at first glance appear to be a useless hodgepodge of names. It soon becomes clear, however, that this is the type of publication which will help immeasurably to attain a clearer historical picture of life in the city of Buenos Aires and its surroundings in the last century of Spanish domination. It is a gold mine for the social and economic historian who cares to accept the excellent research of others. He may find here, for example, probably as accurately as he may wish, how many slaves, Indians, Portuguese, and people from other Argentine provinces lived in the area at a given time; how many were women, how many were children; what their occupations were; what possessions they had on farms and in the towns; how large their houses were; and how many people lived off rentals. This is the type of research for which foundation funds

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should be used. It is therefore the more surprising that such meticulous and comprehensive publications are the result not of lavish private donations but of miserably small governmental appropriations. A perusal of these three volumes and similar publications on other topics by the Instituto can do no less than make the American historian feel he has a challenge to meet in the dedicated historian of Latin America.

*University of Colorado* FRITZ L. HOFFMANN

THE "FUERO MILITAR" IN NEW SPAIN, 1764–1800. By *Lyle N. McAlister.* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press. 1957. Pp. vii, 117. $3.25.) Recorded here is the impact upon civilian institutions of expanding privilege within a growing military establishment during the late decades of the history of New Spain. As the Seven Years' War presaged the restructuring of the Spanish colonial military organization, so the privileged nature of that growing and presumably indispensable element came to affect the institutional structure of subsequent Mexican life. The author traces the pattern of privilege for men of pure and mixed blood in the regular army and militia in both urban and remote areas and concludes that the *fuero* served as a general license for law evasion. Based on materials in the Archivo General de la Nación in Mexico City, the study blends the theory of royal pronouncement with the reality of court action by means of frequently cited specific cases. In the light of the role of the military in independent Mexico, the subject is basic to an understanding of our sister nation. Even as Professor McAlister's work tackles a significant void in historical scholarship, however, it raises so many questions that one inevitably laments the scope of the study. Smacking too much of the range of the doctoral thesis, the book, despite the author's promise (see *Hispanic American Historical Review,* XXXIII [1953], 32), lacks the breadth it deserves. Although it stresses the relationship between the colonial *fuero* and the modern praetorian tradition, it so ignores the interval 1795–1821 that it fails to prove the point. This is to be deplored because the peculiar circumstances within the period of the war of independence deserve attention. The organization is excellent, but some chapters have misleadingly narrow titles. The system of citing archival materials is admirable, but one hoped-for appendix on the volume of *fuero*-induced litigation is missing. The present work so buttresses prior articles and papers as to establish McAlister as one from whom more on the military and institutional plane of Mexican history would be welcome.

*Southern Illinois University* C. HARVEY GARDINER

ESTATUTOS, REGLAMENTOS Y CONSTITUCIONES ARGENTINAS (1811–1898). Notes by *Ricardo R. Caillet-Bois.* [Documentos para la Historia Argentina, Number 23.] (Buenos Aires: Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Universidad de Buenos Aires. 1956. Pp. 240.) This compilation gives students and teachers of Argentine history and politics easy access to the texts of the various Argentine constitutions and constitutional projects, hitherto available only in the monumental and ponderous *Asambleas Constituyentes Argentinas* of Dr. Emilio Ravignani. The present work retains the footnotes appended to these documents by Ravignani. The proliferation of charters during the first two decades of existence of the Argentine state (there were six unsuccessful constitutional launchings between 1811 and 1826) reflects the profound regional, provincial, and class cleavages within the new state and especially the economic imbalance between the wealthy port and province of Buenos Aires and the rest of the country. The total breakdown of efforts at national unification and centralized government was signalized by the rise of Rosas; during the period of his ascendancy the Argentine states were loosely united in the *Pacto Federal* of January 4, 1831 (not given in this volume). Maturing economic changes and general disen-

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chantment with the Rosas regime led to the fall of the tyrant and the adoption of the famous Constitution of 1853, which with the changes introduced in 1860, 1866, and 1898 remained the fundamental charter of the Argentine people until the rise of Juan Perón. For reasons not divulged by the editor, he chose to omit the text of the Peronista Constitution of 1949, which was in effect until May 1, 1956, when the Constitution of 1853 was restored by decree. The texts of the documents are faithfully reproduced from manuscript originals or contemporary imprints. In his introduction Caillet-Bois offers a rapid survey of Argentine constitutional evolution.

*Springfield, Massachusetts* BENJAMIN KEEN

SALVADOR BRAU Y SU TIEMPO: DRAMA Y PARADOJA DE UNA SOCIEDAD. By *Eugenio Fernández Méndez.* (San Juan: Universidad de Puerto Rico. 1956. Pp. 120.) To judge this small volume by its size would be a mistake. Its author is a brilliant young Puerto Rican scholar, a specialist in sociology and anthropology who has pursued his studies in Columbia University's graduate school. Although he is only thirty-three years old, he has already published several volumes dealing with the history and culture of his native land. Salvador Brau (1842–1912) was not only a minor poet and a renowned journalist but also a historian and a pioneer in the study of Puerto Rican social conditions, a liberal who advocated the emancipation of Negro slaves and autonomy for his country. He diligently collected the published works dealing with Puerto Rico and spent some time in the archives of Seville, where he searched for manuscript sources. If he could have been freed from the pressure of earning a living for his large family, he might have produced an excellent social and cultural history of his island home. Fernández Méndez has not attempted to write an intimate account of the life of Brau or to present a full analysis of his writings and his conceptions of history and sociology. He has rather emphasized the salient aspects of Puerto Rico's political, social, and economic history during Brau's lifetime. He gives special attention to the abolition movement in the island and to the troubles and hazards of its sugar industry, which suffered almost continually from world surpluses of this commodity, particularly after the development of beet sugar behind various tariff walls. The photographic illustrations are defective, and a bibliography is lacking; but the narrative is presented in superb style, and the footnotes are ample.

*University of Chicago* J. FRED RIPPY

THE BRAZILIAN COTTON MANUFACTURE: TEXTILE ENTERPRISE IN AN UNDERDEVELOPED AREA, 1850–1950. By *Stanley J. Stein.* [Studies in Entrepreneurial History.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1957. Pp. xii, 273. $5.00.) Economic historians of Brazil have largely concentrated on agricultural or commercial, rarely on industrial, aspects. The present analysis of the cotton manufacturing industry partially overcomes this neglect. Professor Stein has divided his volume into three periods, 1840–1890, 1890–1930, and 1930–1950. The first, the era of the second empire, saw the birth of a paternalistic industry, precariously existing in an agricultural milieu from which it drew heavily. The second, the epoch of the first republic, witnessed government protection, only meagerly provided by the empire, which partially caused the industry's expansion to the point where it produced 87 per cent of domestic needs in 1927. Technical improvements and production of finer materials were introduced by the larger firms concentrated in the south-central region. Elsewhere there arose smaller, more backward mills, necessarily producing the coarser cloth used by the masses. These halcyon days ended with the depression. The third period, that of the dictatorship and the beginning of the second republic, was the era of closer government relationship under the semicorporativism of Vargas. Faced with the depression, the

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industry divided along regio-economic lines, quarreled over the importation of machinery, and raised the cry of imminent disaster due to overproduction while it was working overtime. The war caused a jump in exports from under two million kilos in 1939 to twenty-six millions in 1943. The postwar years brought limitation of exports, increasing government regulation, more effective criticism, and most importantly the realization that the industry existed not for itself but as an integral part of Brazilian society and economy. Stating that the greatest challenge of the industry is modernization of management, Stein concludes that it is "clear that in some respects cotton manufacture in Brazil was a developed segment of an underdeveloped economy." He further suggests reexamination not only of Brazil's industrialization but also of "the generally accepted timing of world economic trends." This well-written volume, which is based on archival and printed materials, contains, besides notes and bibliography, eight statistical appendixes and twenty-one tables. Presenting a thorough picture of the industry, it will be highly serviceable both to economic historians and to Brazilian specialists. One general observation is that a larger volume was needed to explain, more completely than is done, the political background to the nonspecialist, especially since the divisions chosen are those usually selected for political demarcation.

*Georgetown University* GEORGE C. A. BOEHRER

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# ★ ★ ★ ★ *Historical News* ★ ★ ★ ★

## The New York Meeting, 1957

### I

The seventy-second annual meeting of the American Historical Association was held at the Hotel Statler in New York City on December 28, 29, 30. The attendance proved extraordinarily large; paid registrations totaled 2,450. This was 469 more registrants than were present at the largest previous meeting, that in New York in 1954. Actual attendance was, of course, in excess of formal registration, a circumstance especially noticeable when the Association meets in New York City.

That the meeting moved forward smoothly on its diverse fronts despite the unexpectedly large attendance is a tribute first and foremost to the planning foresight and the administrative skill of the chairman of the Committee on Local Arrangements, Erling M. Hunt of Teachers College, Columbia University. He was aided by the following committee members: Robert Ernst, Adelphi College; Charles B. Forcey, Columbia University; Peter J. Gay, Columbia University; John J. Hastings, Columbia University; Robert W. Hill, New York Public Library; Manson Van B. Jennings, Teachers College, Columbia University; Walter P. Metzger, Columbia University; Madeline R. Robinton, Brooklyn College; Robert B. Rockwood, Upsala College; James P. Shenton, Columbia University; and Chilton Williamson, Barnard College, Columbia University.

The quality of the exhibits was notable; much credit for this favorable display goes to committee member Manson Van B. Jennings. Both in the planning stage and during the course of the meeting, a Hotel Statler staff member was particularly helpful, namely, Winthrop W. Grice. The staff of the News Office of Columbia University handled publicity. Leading papers of the metropolitan press gave coverage on successive days to various sessions of the meeting. There were several dozen breakfasts, receptions, and smokers for various special groups at the meeting.

The 1957 Program Committee consisted of: Eugene P. Boardman, University of Wisconsin; David Donald, Columbia University; Charles W. Hallberg, Queens College; Edgar N. Johnson, University of Nebraska; Edmund S. Morgan, Yale University; Carl E. Schorske, Wesleyan University; Arthur P. Whitaker, University of Pennsylvania; and Oscar J. Falnes, New York University, chairman.

While recognizing that in a meeting with over two-score sessions, there



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must be some diversity of theme and emphasis, the Program Committee nonetheless decided early that it would venture a general theme around which to gather a goodly share of the programing. For this it chose the phrasing *Class, Caste, and Power: In West and East,* having in mind some concentration of attention upon the fulcra of power operating in the relationships of ideology, social position, and economic and political power. Session planners were apprised of this emphasis.

On behalf of the committee, the chairman early solicited program suggestions from department chairmen and colleagues in several score institutions across the country. Their many suggestions broadened the committee's thinking and deliberations, and the committee was most grateful for this assistance. Several of the suggestions were accepted as offered; others were used in part. The committee took full responsibility for the planning of twenty-three sessions and shared in the planning of seventeen sessions with groups meeting jointly with the Association. There were in addition five luncheon sessions and two dinner sessions. Several of the organizations with which joint sessions were scheduled had meetings of their own which are not included above (or in the following report).

The chairman of each session was invited to submit a brief statement on his session, prepared after the meeting. Eventually all but one responded. The report which follows is based in very large part on these summaries.

## II

In the field of American history a group of sessions mainly political and economic in bent may first be considered. The session on "Politics and Society in Colonial America" was presided over by Verner W. Crane of the University of Michigan. Bernard Bailyn of Harvard University read the first paper, "Politics and Social Structure in Seventeenth Century Virginia," in which he defined with new precision three successive leadership groups. Only the first combined all elements of social-political authority, to reproduce the English hierarchical tradition, but its influence did not outlast the Company regime. In the next generation, the successful thrusting planters who unseated Governor Harvey failed, nevertheless, to develop into a stable gentry. The famous Virginia "aristocracy" of later times was founded by ambitious younger sons of middle-class families, inheritors of land claims or company stock, who emigrated in the mid-seventeenth century. At the provincial level country magnates confronted an alien force, placeholders exercising power derived from England. In this distinction at the top between social and political leadership lay the sources of prolonged conflict. No such external pressure was involved in "Rhode Island Politics in the Eighteenth Century," as analyzed by David S. Lovejoy of Brown University. With its liberal character, elective offices, broad suffrage (though few bothered to vote), Rhode Island possessed classic conditions for what contemporaries called

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"faction." Neither religion, class interest, imperial loyalty, nor democracy was at issue in the contests between the Ward and Hopkins factions. They were contests, merely, for office and emoluments, with sectional overtones. Lovejoy argued, however, that the politicians' purpose to preserve and exploit the local political system was an important motive for resistance to British measures after 1763. In his comment, Frederick B. Tolles of Swarthmore College pointed to methodological similarities in the two papers—the current concern with individuals and primary and secondary social groups—and one major point of agreement: localism dominated colonial politics.

The session on "Alexander Hamilton after Two Centuries" met under the chairmanship of Carl Bridenbaugh of the University of California, Berkeley. There was a capacity audience. Cecilia M. Kenyon of Smith College dealt with Hamilton as "The Rousseau of the Right." She pointed out that, like the Frenchman, Hamilton gave the general will a prominent place in his thought, but that though this public good was morally and politically prior to private ends, it frequently came into contact with them. Hamilton was never able to reconcile his political ideal with his stated view of political reality, and, consequently, "his political theory is confused, contradictory, and basically unrealistic." Gerald Stourzh of the American Foundation for Political Education turned his fire on Alexander Hamilton's theory of "Empire Building," which, he declared, furnished the clue to an appreciation of Hamilton's character and statesmanship. He quoted a passage from Lincoln which explains Hamilton as few other utterances do: "Towering genius disdains a beaten path. . . . It sees no distinction in adding story to story, upon the monuments of fame, erected to the memory of others. It denies that it is glory enough to serve under any chief. . . . It thirsts and burns for distinction; and, if possible, it will have it, whether at the expense of emancipating slaves, or enslaving freemen. . . ." In commenting upon the papers, Broadus Mitchell of Rutgers University took refuge "in a lower register," as he at one and the same time commended and disapproved of the conclusions of the two scholars. Harold C. Syrett of Columbia University steered a middle course between theory and the establishing of the Hamiltonian canon, in which he is now principally engaged. The discussion following was lively and would have gone on for some time. Upon the request of a member of the audience, Dumas Malone made some pertinent observations about the papers without entirely yielding his conviction that, judged by his deeds, Alexander Hamilton still seemed an evil man.

"Politics and Society in the Early Republic" was the topic in a session presided over by Ralph H. Gabriel of Yale University. Noble E. Cunningham, Jr., of the University of Richmond, in a paper entitled "Political Leadership in the Party Process, 1789–1801," investigated two ideas common at the end of the eighteenth century. One was the idea that the personal influence of the great leader—Jefferson in particular—was a determining factor in the formation of the great parties. That

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this needed modification seemed evident from Cunningham's description of the carefully planned, behind-the-scenes, organizational work by local political leaders in all the states. The second idea was that at the time of the French Revolution the republican and democratic societies that flourished in the United States burgeoned into a grass roots party organization. For this, Cunningham saw no evidence. Members of the legislatures became the central figures in the organization of political activity in the states, preparing the way for the congressional caucus in national politics. Richard P. McCormick of Rutgers University reviewed "Some Aspects of Jacksonian Politics" from the perspective of a statistical study of voter participation in some elections before and after the Jacksonian series, 1824, 1828, 1832. In these three, participation was surprisingly low. His conclusion was that the "vision of a mighty democratic uprising . . . [in Jackson's time] is a mirage." In his comment, Charles G. Sellers, Jr., of Princeton University approved McCormick's method of research but noted that the statistical information, while illuminating and significant, did not warrant sweeping conclusions when standing alone.

"European Views of American Agriculture" was the topic of a joint session with the Agricultural History Society, presided over by Walter H. Ebling of the Federal-State Crop Reporting Service (Wisconsin). David J. Brandenburg of American University read a paper entitled "A French Aristocrat Looks at American Farming: La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt's *Voyage dans les États-Unis d'Amérique* (1795, 1796, 1797)." Reviewing published material of this writer, he found that Liancourt preserved much that was worth while though Brandenburg was a bit skeptical of the accuracy of some observations. Hubert G. Schmidt of Rutgers University discussed "Some Post-Revolutionary Views of American Agriculture in the English Midlands," basing his analysis on a collection of letters from overseas. Doubtful at first, English Midland farmers became gradually more favorably disposed toward the accounts. The younger readers responded most, being influenced partly by the lack of opportunity in their home area. In his comment, Jerome Blum of Princeton University thought Liancourt's observations had solider validity than Brandenburg inferred, for he was a remarkably well-trained observer in his time. Comment on Schmidt's paper was extensive; part of it bore on the letters he used as sources. These, it was explained, are currently in Schmidt's possession while a book is in preparation.

A joint session with the Lexington Group, of which George Rogers Taylor of Amherst served as chairman, considered the topic "Men, Transportation, and the Civil War." Gene D. Lewis of Southern Illinois University emphasized the contributions to American technical and transportation development by the pre-Civil War engineer, Charles Ellet, Jr., 1810–1862. Active in the construction of canals and railroads, he is best remembered for his pioneering in the building of suspension bridges and for his recommendations for improving the navigation of western rivers by means of upland reservoirs. Ellet was an early advocate of

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the use of steam battering rams in naval warfare. Given command of a ram fleet on the Mississippi, he used it with great effectiveness in the capture of Memphis in June, 1862. George G. Schottenhamel of Nebraska State Teachers College, Peru, spoke on "Victory Rode the Rails—Or Did It?" His paper had to do primarily with Lewis B. Parsons' supervision of transportation for the military department of the West and showed how, by coordinating rail, river, and road transportation, Parsons effectively moved troops and supplies and thus contributed substantially to Union victory in the West. Schottenhamel questioned whether writers in explaining the success of the Northern forces in the West have not overemphasized the role of the railroads and underemphasized that of the rivers. In his comment, Robert S. Henry of the Association of American Railroads noted that our war with Mexico was the first war in which important use was made of the steamboat while the Civil War was the first in which appreciable use was made of the railroad.

The joint session with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association on "The Nineteen Twenties," drawing an estimated attendance of six to seven hundred, was presided over by R. Carlyle Buley of Indiana University. In the absence of Arthur S. Link of Northwestern University, his paper, "The 1920's: Was Progressivism Dead?" was read by his colleague, Richard W. Leopold. Link argued that the national progressive movement was shattered by certain policies pursued by the administration from 1917 to 1920 and by some developments over which the administration had no or only slight control. It is inadequate to say that "the War killed the progressive movement." Large and aggressive components of a potential new progressive coalition remained after 1920, but these were divided by conflicts among themselves. In the 1920's progressivism suffered a serious decline, heightened by the defection of large elements among the urban middle classes and the so-called intellectuals and by some repressive tendencies. Some components survived in considerable vigor, particularly in farm groups and in elements concerned with public regulation or ownership of power resources. The progressive movement was far from dead in the 1920's. John M. Blum of Yale University, in his comments, emphasized some of the regressive tendencies in progressivism, its labor baiting, its nativism, its lack of contact with urban life and political organizations. Frank B. Freidel of Harvard University spoke of some elements of progressivism in the work of Coolidge and of Hoover. When discussion from the floor got under way it seemed as if a hundred people wanted to talk; only a few were able to do so.

James Phinney Baxter, 3rd, of Williams College presided over the joint session with the American Military Institute on "The President as Commander-in-Chief; Coalition Warfare in the Twentieth Century." Ernest R. May of Harvard University pointed out that Wilson acted as commander-in-chief of the Navy in the early days of the First World War but "after the summer of 1917, Sims's supremacy was plain." The complete delegation of the commander-in-chief's

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powers to General Pershing could not last after the creation of the Supreme War Council, on whose military committee General Bliss represented the President. When the command was unified both Pershing and Foch were acting for Wilson, who had to resolve the differences between them. "The delegation of authority from the President to the generalissimo was almost as extensive as the earlier delegation to Pershing." William R. Emerson of Yale University contended that in World War II Roosevelt "made, or closely participated in, every major American strategic decision of the war, in some cases overriding the opinions, and in others, the formal recommendations, of his staff. . . . His constant and overriding concern, both on the home-front and in the strategic sphere, was to reserve for himself the ultimate power of decision." He sought advice eagerly, but took very little of it. "Roosevelt had supreme confidence in his strategic instincts and his Chiefs of Staff had no doubts that he, and not they, was running the war." Maurice Matloff of the Department of the Army firmly rejected these views as an overstatement of the President's share, and an understatement of the Joint Chiefs' role, in the formulation of strategy. Walter Millis of the Fund for the Republic concluded that Roosevelt "operated the strategic and the political policy of the United States as an interwoven whole, something which no other President, with the possible though dubious exception of Lincoln, had ever succeeded in doing."

"The National Interest and American Foreign Policy" was discussed in a session presided over by Dexter Perkins of Cornell University. Attention was centered on a single paper, read by Hans J. Morgenthau of the University of Chicago, entitled "In Defense of the National Interest." Morgenthau distinguished two elements: one, the interest in preserving a nation's territorial, political, and cultural integrity; the other, a concern with variables which result from particular situations and crises. The nation-state, observed Morgenthau, has lost its usefulness and has become obsolescent. It no longer serves to achieve the basic aim of survival. The principal key to American foreign policy, said Morgenthau, has been and should be, the maintenance of a balance of power in Europe and Asia. Richard W. Leopold of Northwestern University and Robert H. Ferrell of Indiana University led the discussion which followed.

## III

Cultural and social aspects of the American story engaged several sessions. A joint session with the History of Science Society on "Creativity in American Science" evoked much interest. The chairman was Eric F. Goldman of Princeton University. Donald H. Fleming of Brown University, in presenting "An Historian's View," emphasized first that in America the religion of work long impeded acceptance of the idea that scientific research was a legitimate calling, and second that because of our federal institutions and the failure of the American Revolution to evoke a radical transformation of the educational system it is

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highly improbable at the present time that we can give a new direction to the curriculum in the schools, whether in favor of science or of anything else. "A Physicist's View" was discussed by I. I. Rabi of Columbia University. He surveyed the rise of the United States to scientific preeminence after 1920. Now the United States is probably at its peak, with the Soviet Union still on the way up. American colleges and high schools, warned Rabi, must resume standards of an earlier day so that students may be better prepared for the pursuit of scientific studies.

At the dinner meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, presided over by William T. Hutchinson of the University of Chicago, Bert James Loewenberg of Sarah Lawrence College read a paper on "Darwin, Darwinism, and History." It had a special timeliness in view of the seventy-fifth anniversary year of Charles Darwin's death and the approaching centennial of his *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection*. The speaker defined the particular areas of scientific investigation wherein Darwin made original contributions, stressed his debt to early nineteenth-century historical thought, and pointed out that an adequate knowledge of the wide-ranging intellectual effects of Darwinism waits upon much further research. Loewenberg still believed, as he wrote twelve years ago, that "the task of integrating the concepts of evolution into the mosaic of modern thought—remains to be accomplished."

A session on "Individualism and Anti-Intellectualism in American Thought" was very well attended. Its chairman was Merle E. Curti of the University of Wisconsin. John William Ward of Princeton University read a paper on "Two Versions of Individualism in the United States." Ward identified the first dominant American attitude toward individualism as that which in the early nineteenth century defined the individual in terms separating him from the rest of society. The second, an attitude still emerging in our own time, defines the individual in terms of his relation to others. Ward related this broad distinction to changes in American society and also to changes in the basic assumptions which made belief possible. In a paper on "Aspects of American Anti-Intellectualism" Richard Hofstadter of Columbia University observed that anti-intellectualism, never a simple phenomenon, tended to be ambiguous and even mixed with intellectual concern. Benign in some forms, it has been militant in others, even posing a serious threat for intellectual life. Old in the American tradition, it might be illustrated in relation to evangelicalism, with the latter's widespread suspicion of the place of mind and learning in religion. In his comment, Norman Holmes Pearson of Yale University expanded on Ward's discussion of Emerson as a spokesman of the Age of Jackson, noting the dialectic of opposition in his philosophy. He directed attention also to the increasing restrictive legislation of the period as representative of an over-all dialectic between individualism and group responsibility. Turning to Hofstadter's paper, Pearson stressed the continuing dialectic between anti-intellectualism and varieties of anti-intellectualism,

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distinguished between romanticism and anti-intellectualism, and pointed to a strain of intellectual anti-intellectualism in American thought.

Under the chairmanship of Walter B. Posey of Agnes Scott College and Emory University, a joint session with the Southern Historical Association explored some aspects of "American Race Relations." In a paper on "Southern Indian Removal: The 'Civilized Tribes' and Jacksonian Justice," Mary E. Young of Ohio State University dealt with some relations between uneven acculturation within the "civilized tribes" of the Southeast and the development of the Indian policy. The methods adopted enabled the government to acquire tribal lands, but fraud by speculators made the technique both embarrassing and costly. Richard Bardolph of the Woman's College, University of North Carolina, discussed his extended research on the "Social Origins of Distinguished Negroes." Having divided several hundred eminent Negro Americans into five groups and having examined their ancestry and their social, economic, and educational background, he warned the historian to beware of the common error of lumping all Negroes together in evaluating the race's achievements and potentialities. The commentator, Bernard Mayo of the University of Virginia, felt that Miss Young should have given more attention to the consequences of the Indian allotment policy and that its motives, both real and rationalized, needed clearer analysis and sharper evaluation. Mayo urged inquiry into Bardolph's criteria for selecting Negro notables, his use of the word "distinction" to cover cases of mere notoriety, and his evaluation of the preponderance of leaders with partially white ancestry.

The joint session with the American Catholic Historical Association, concerned with "The Roots of American Nativism," drew a sizable audience. John Tracy Ellis of Catholic University was chairman. Colman J. Barry of St. John's University, Minnesota, discussing "Some Roots of American Nativism," called for a closer analysis of nativism as a state of mind, sometimes expressed, and sometimes not, which would embrace what he called "the presuppositions that have brought about nativism," especially as they are found rooted in European—and more particularly English—ancestry. More interdisciplinary investigation, in theology and philosophy particularly, could bring out some hidden aspects of the nativist mentality. John Higham of Rutgers University, taking "Another Look at Nativism," found that the nativist theme, "as defined and developed to date, is imaginatively exhausted." The history of nativism has not tried, except incidentally, "to clarify the structural development of American society by working out the interrelations between classes and ethnic groups, taking account of regional and local differences." In his comment, Gilbert A. Cahill of Harpur College pointed to parallels between England and the United States in the mid-nineteenth century, relating particularly to the politicians' use of anti-Catholic sentiment for their own ends.

A large audience was attracted to the joint session with the History of Education Society, a session devoted to "Segregation and American Education" in the

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nineteenth century, under the chairmanship of R. Freeman Butts, Teachers College, Columbia University. In a paper on "Jim Crow Goes to School: The Genesis of Legal Segregation in Southern Schools," John Hope Franklin of Brooklyn College described how Southern whites borrowed from the North the practice of "Jim Crow" in order to maintain rigid control over the former slaves. What little public education there was for Negroes from 1865 to 1867 was "Jim Crow" education. During the days of Radical Reconstruction there was much talk of racially mixed schools, but little was done about them, either in legislation or in practice. Only South Carolina and Louisiana had legislation favorable to mixed schools. After Reconstruction, the economy drive of the redeemers was the final stimulus for "Jim Crow" in education. The pretense of separate but equal educational opportunities had disappeared long before the doctrine was propounded in *Plessy* v. *Ferguson* in 1896. The second paper, read by Alfred H. Kelly of Wayne State University, was entitled "Congress, the Court, and the Schools: The Rise of a Constitutional Myth." Kelly analyzed in some detail the controversy over racially segregated versus mixed schools which developed in Congress between 1868 and 1875, in which the Radical faction in Congress struck at school segregation, culminating in the long fight for passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1875. He argued that a kind of political consensus was reached in this debate—namely, that Congress, regardless of its capacity to legislate against segregated schools, would, as a matter of public policy, not do so. The ultimate result was that by 1880 each state, North and South, had in effect been empowered to decide the question for itself—a situation confirmed to all intents and purposes a full fifteen or twenty years before the Supreme Court put its formal seal of approved constitutional law upon the matter, in *Plessy* v. *Ferguson*. Dewey W. Grantham, Jr., of Vanderbilt University raised some searching questions of motivation and procedure but indicated agreement with the broad line of argument in each paper.

Roy F. Nichols of the University of Pennsylvania presided over a joint session with the American Studies Association. Eric L. McKitrick of the University of Chicago read a paper, of which he was coauthor, on "Institutions in Motion." Its opening sentence well described the spirit of the session: "The continuing vitality of Turner's inspiration represents something better than logic; it commands us to keep on thinking." Quarrel as we may with Turner's thesis, the migration of people does something to institutions in motion. Transplanted institutions by their motion are often forced to assume vastly expanded functions, and the survival of these expanded institutions depends on their portability. Illustrations were drawn largely from the experiences of the migrating religious institutions of the Catholics, Lutherans, and Jews. "A Sociological Examination of the Turner Thesis" was presented by Everett S. Lee of the University of Pennsylvania, who maintained that Turner had developed a special case within a more general theory of migration. He pointed out numerous population char-

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acteristics attributable to a constantly migrating people. These are still inadequately studied, and Lee expressed the hope that historians and sociologists might study this problem in a larger context than ever envisioned by Turner. Discussion of these papers was led by Ray A. Billington of Northwestern University. He saw them reflecting a new trend in historical thought; younger scholars are now ready to test Turner's hypotheses rather than merely to criticize and condemn them. He suggested that there was need for interdisciplinary study of the forces compelling migration and comparative analyses to determine why the migration process differed so in various parts of the world. The discussion was vigorously continued from the floor.

## IV

Relations between the United States and Latin America were discussed in a session chaired by J. Fred Rippy of the University of Chicago. Bryce Wood of the Social Science Research Council spoke on "The Good Neighbor Policy." Starting with the year 1920, he contended that both the Herbert Hoover and the Franklin D. Roosevelt administrations made contributions to that policy, which was a policy of persuasion rather than coercion, of cooperation rather than dominance. Wood confirmed the general view in the United States that the policy was a success, as indicated by the collaboration of nearly all the governments of Latin America with the United States during World War II. Julius W. Pratt of the University of Buffalo and Robert N. Burr of the University of California, Los Angeles, focused their comments mainly on the origins of the Good Neighbor policy, tracing it back to Woodrow Wilson and even to Henry Clay, and projecting it forward into the period of World War II so as to embrace the beginning of technical and economic aid by the United States to Latin America and the activities of Nelson Rockefeller. Cordell Hull's diplomacy received more emphasis than that of Sumner Welles. Some members of the audience thought that the economic depression and the series of successful revolts of the 1930's were largely responsible for the abandonment of the old policies of intervention and domination, since such revolts caused a good deal of trouble. Other auditors mentioned the possibility that the old policies were abandoned because they were injuring the trade and investments of the United States.

The relations between "Depression, War, and the Political Process, 1929–1945" were discussed in a joint session with the Conference on Latin American History, whose chairman was Clifton B. Kroeber of Occidental College. Thomas F. McGann of Harvard University, speaking on "Argentina," and Rollie Poppino of the Department of State, discussing "Brazil," agreed that broad socio-economic changes had the effect of upsetting the older political process in both nations. Poppino emphasized rapid shift in the economic balance of power, emergence of new social forces, growing population, and phenomenal expansion of cities as influences that the old political system was not equipped to handle. McGann felt

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that Argentine democracy had failed before the world depression began and that World War II added nothing to a political situation in which both liberalism and conservatism were already discredited. Poppino agreed that basic changes in Brazilian politics were not caused by depression and war; but he, like McGann, discussed depression's ultimate effect in politics, as exemplified in such facts as a growing industrial laboring group. Poppino felt that World War II helped Brazil's democracy, whereas McGann thought the effect had been the reverse in Argentina's fading democracy. A commentary by Charles C. Cumberland of Michigan State University was read by Lyle N. McAlister of the University of Florida. Cumberland called for further analysis of the whole subject, in view of the general incidence of political upset in Latin America during the period under review. The discussion was lively, expanding on Cumberland's remarks, and indicated there was a fertile field for research in the whole interwar period.

At a luncheon session with the Conference on Latin American History, Stanley R. Ross of the University of Nebraska read a paper on "Dwight W. Morrow and the Mexican Revolution." Ross pointed out that Morrow, as ambassador to Mexico, 1927–1930, had been charged with applying the brakes to the Mexican Revolution. The speaker, however, basing his conclusions on extensive research, showed that the diplomat did not stop the revolution. In fact, the Mexican people retained their revolutionary principles and put them into effect under President Cardenas. In the absence of Walter V. Scholes of the University of Missouri, John J. Johnson of Stanford University presided over this meeting.

## V

In turning to sessions in the ancient, medieval, and early modern fields, mention may first be made of the dinner meeting of the Mediaeval Academy of America, over which Joseph R. Strayer of Princeton University presided. Schafer Williams of South Shaftsbury, Vermont, gave a brief summary of the life and work of Mabillon and then surveyed the history of the teaching of paleography in the United States from its beginnings at Johns Hopkins in the 1890's to the present. He suggested that the subject is now neglected and asked that it be given more attention.

M. L. W. Laistner of Cornell University was unable to attend the session on "The Roman Empire in Decline," and in his place J. W. Swain of the University of Illinois presided. C. A. Robinson, Jr., of Brown University opened the discussion with a paper on "The Contribution of the Upper Classes to Rome's Decline." He described the empire as a protective rather than an oppressive despotism and traced the beginning of Rome's decline to Augustus himself. The Augustan system created an efficient bureaucracy and brought economic prosperity for a century or two, but it was highly aristocratic, and under it the upper classes made no effort to raise the lower classes or to take them into partnership. The lower classes craved a full life, which the empire could not provide. Solomon Katz of

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the University of Washington continued with a paper on "The Lower Classes and Decline." After portraying the sad state of the poor, especially after the civil disturbances and financial inflation of the third century, he suggested that the lower classes had little incentive to resist the barbarian invaders of the next centuries. A general discussion, led by Mason Hammond of Harvard, ranged rather widely over such matters as the character of Augustus (was he a political genius or a charlatan?), tax policy, and the Soviet party line regarding the causes of the fall of Rome.

A session devoted to "Social History and History of the Arts" was chaired by Sidney Painter of Johns Hopkins University. Harry H. Hilberry of Syracuse University, in a paper on "Cluniac Architecture and Monastic Power," pointed out that architecture was a product of the combined influences of wealth and necessary functions. He illustrated this by slides of a series of great buildings built by wealthy organizations and adjusted to their various functions. He then showed how the buildings of the monastery of Cluny expanded as its revenues increased and its functions as the mother house of a great order developed. This process was further illustrated by slides showing reconstructions made by Kenneth Conant of the Cluniac buildings at various stages. Palmer A. Throop of the University of Michigan spoke on "The Status of the Poet in the Middle Ages." He described the various types of poetry which existed in the Middle Ages and indicated their relationship to the society of the day. Of particular interest was Throop's discussion of the place of clerical poets and their poetry as propagators of moral conceptions. The poet who was a moral leader had a high place in society, and the one who merely sought to entertain was scorned. In his comment, Irving W. Raymond of Brooklyn College, for reasons beyond his control, confined his comments to Hilberry's paper. He remarked that Hilberry had neglected the decline of Cluny and pointed out how the great abbey suffered from incompetent and even rascally abbots and broad changes in rural economy. Moreover, the rise of the Cistercian order ended the moral supremacy of Cluny and hence led to a diminishing stream of pious gifts. Questions from the audience dealt with medieval ideas of the improper in poetry and the means used by Cluny to find the resources needed for its extensive building program.

The problem of the amazingly rapid decline of Byzantine power in Asia Minor engaged a session on "Byzantium and Islam: The Social Basis of Expansion" over which Marshall W. Baldwin of New York University presided. Speros Vryonis, Jr., of Harvard University, in a paper on "Byzantium: The Social Basis of Decline in the Eleventh Century," dealt with internal developments in Byzantine society which contributed to the decline, emphasizing the exhausting civil wars between the civil and military aristocracies in the provinces and the ethnic-religious problems which were especially acute in Asia Minor. Andrew S. Ehrenkreutz of the University of Michigan, discussing "Expansion in Asia Minor and the 'Foreign' Policy of the Great Saljūqs," showed that the original objective

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of the Saljūqī ruling caste, the restoration of unity to the 'Abbāsid caliphate and the reduction of the Fatimids of Egypt, would have precluded any hostile involvement with the Byzantines. Turcoman raids, however, forced the Saljūqs toward Asia Minor and war with Byzantium. The official anti-Egyptian policy as a consequence was abandoned. Peter Charanis of Rutgers University, as commentator, was in substantial agreement with the ideas expressed in both papers. He suggested that in the case of the Byzantine empire, external developments were of considerable significance in explaining the Byzantine collapse.

The session dealing with "The Renaissance Artist and Humanist in the Public Service" was chaired by Felix Gilbert of Bryn Mawr College. The first paper, on "Sadoleto and His Friends," was given by Richard M. Douglas of Amherst College. Its central problem was the tension between the competing claims of the contemplative life and of the obligation to public service imposed upon the humanists of Erasmus' generation; Douglas illustrated this conflict by an analysis of the life and career of Sadoleto. After Sadoleto had been made a cardinal he reentered the active life, in the service of a third pope who was committed to the promotion of reform and a general council of the Church. Although Sadoleto felt alienated from professional papal bureaucrats as well as frustrated and ill at ease in Rome, he also acknowledged his responsibility to the causes of reform and the council. Horst W. Janson of New York University dealt with "The Public Monument in the Early Renaissance." With the aid of slides, he outlined the development which led to the erection of "monuments to individual fame" in the Renaissance. Although in imperial Rome statues representing the emperor or his surrogate were produced in very large numbers, the Middle Ages shunned them as too strongly tinged with memories of emperor worship and idolatry. By tracing the development of the most ambitious type, the equestrian monument, Janson showed how the Renaissance overcame this attitude and step by step reestablished the "monument to fame" in the form of the free-standing statue. With Donatello's *Gattamelata* and Verrocchio's *Colleoni* the climax of the development was reached; these first free-standing bronze equestrian statues since antiquity were essentially "monuments to individual fame." Charles Trinkaus of Sarah Lawrence College commented on the two papers and emphasized the equivocal character of the term "public service" in the era of the Renaissance. It meant cooperation with the existing political powers on a concrete level, but it meant also service to the *res publica Christiana* on an ideal level. In the discussion following, questions were raised whether the inclination of Sadoleto and his contemporaries to retire from active life was decisively influenced by the experiences they had had at the Roman Curia and whether humanists serving at other courts felt the same reluctance to accept a place in the working world.

The joint session with the American Society for Reformation Research, presided over by Hans Baron of the Newberry Library, considered "Intellectual and Social Forces during the Reformation Era." The meeting proved to be the largest

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in the Society's history. Discussing "New Groups and Ideas at the University of Wittenberg," Ernest G. Schwiebert of the Air Research and Development Command, USAF, held that the classical humanists per se would have been unable to dislodge scholasticism. It was "Biblical Humanism" as developed by Luther and Melanchthon in the framework of the new Saxon territorial university that brought about a metamorphosis of the curriculum and an independence of study, in many fields, from the predominance of medieval theology: Protestant Wittenberg, between 1517 and 1536, became "the first modern university." In his comment, E. Harris Harbison of Princeton University noted that the "Biblical Humanism" of Wittenberg proved useful not only against scholasticism but also against the revolutionary tendency of the *Schwaermer* to divorce faith from intellectual discipline and tradition. Behind the Iron Curtain scholars are arguing today that Melanchthon, as author of the Wittenberg curriculum, was unconsciously fulfilling the desire of the bourgeosie, allied to the *Landesfuerstentum,* to fend off revolution. The second paper, read by Robert M. Kingdon of the State University of Iowa, on "The Political Resistance of the Calvinists in France and the Netherlands," resumed the quest for social factors in the later part of the century. Analyzing the growth of revolutionary political parties under the control of the international Calvinist Church with its headquarters in Geneva, Kingdon concluded that supreme leadership came from the high nobility, which was linked to the Calvinist church organization through members of the lower nobility in whose hands lay the diplomacy and propaganda of Calvinism: hence the crucial role attributed to the "inferior magistrates" in the Calvinist political theory of revolt. Leo F. Solt of Indiana University, while accepting the general validity of these conclusions, explained in his comments why a similar strong revolutionary party did not materialize under the English parliamentary monarchy before the civil war period of the seventeenth century.

## VI

Problems connected with law and power were much to the fore in sessions in the West European field. In a joint session with the Conference on British Studies, under the chairmanship of Wallace Notestein of Yale University, the subject was "Sir John Fortescue and Good Governance in Fifteenth-Century England." Arthur B. Ferguson of Duke University, speaking on "Fortescue and the Growth of Political Consciousness," stressed the fact that although Fortescue was primarily an authority on law and the theory of government, he was also a political and social commentator, a pamphleteer, and a conservative realist who tried to understand and influence the forces of his day. Margaret Hastings of Rutgers University, in her paper "Fortescue and the Realities of English Law," stated that to Fortescue England's common law and jury trial were the products of the practical experiences of the English people. Fortescue himself was a realist, a practical man with a strong commitment to England's established order, a man

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who understood the realities of England's legal institutions to a greater extent than did most of his contemporaries. Samuel E. Thorne of Harvard University remarked upon Fortescue's recent loss of place and reputation as the forerunner of modern constitutionalism and made reference to the work of Professor Chrimes and others who have attempted to assess Fortescue's contributions to the idea of "parliamentary monarchy." Thorne stated that Fortescue came to his problems from the theoretical side, that he had no special insight into law or government, that his descriptions of English life and institutions were idealized and distorted, and that he was insensitive to much in his contemporary world, ignorant of much in England's past.

"The Covenant Idea" engaged the attention of a joint session with the American Society of Church History, with James H. Nichols of the University of Chicago as chairman. Sidney A. Burrell of Barnard College used "The Covenant Idea as a Revolutionary Symbol in Scotland, 1596–1637" to illustrate the power of ideas in history. The federal or covenant concept in Reformed theology was imported to Scotland about 1590 and was there fused with the native custom of private "bonding" for mutual protection. During the next forty years the Scottish clergy familiarized thousands of Scots with the conception and the practice of "covenanting." The Scottish people were thus prepared to react in the rebellion of 1637–1640, which had such momentous consequences. Leonard J. Trinterud of McCormick Theological Seminary analyzed the theological structure of "The Covenant of Nature in Puritan Thought" as the framework of Puritan social theory. The typically Puritan "covenant of nature" after 1585, known as the "covenant of works," was the pattern of God's dealings with men universally, in the order of creation and providence, and was distinguished from the covenant of grace under which God dealt with the elect in the order of redemption. The covenant of works was in effect each man's vocation or calling which assigned to him, without regard to his spiritual state, a role in God's maintenance of His creation. Winthrop S. Hudson of the Colgate-Rochester Divinity School launched a lively discussion in which reference was made to later and different uses of the covenant conception in Scotland, England, and the Low Countries. The chief focus of interest seemed to be the radical revisions of Weber and Tawney required by recent research.

A well-attended session on "Stuart England" was presided over by Robert L. Schuyler of Columbia University. Vernon F. Snow of the University of Oregon, in a paper on "Essex and the Opposition to the Early Stuarts," dealt with the advance of the third Earl of Essex, the son of Elizabeth's ill-starred favorite, to the leadership of the opposition in the aristocracy to the government of Charles I and to the position of parliamentary commander in the Civil War. Corinne Comstock Weston of the University of Houston argued in "Charles I and the Theory of Mixed Monarchy during the English Civil War" that the theory of mixed monarchy was the main rival of the theory of Leveller democracy and that its

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great popularity was due to its adoption by Charles I on the eve of the Civil War in his *Answer to the Nineteen Propositions,* which has been strangely neglected by historians. The theory declared that the English government was a mixture of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, represented respectively by king, Lords, and Commons, and that this theory persisted from the Restoration to the middle of the nineteenth century. Harold Hulme of New York University argued that Miss Weston exaggerated the importance of Charles I's *Answer,* for the theory was at the heart of the tradition of government in England. Snow's paper, contended Hulme, had not explained adequately the rise of the aristocratic opposition to early Stuart government and left the role of Essex in too glamorous a light.

A session on "The Merchant Class and the French Revolution Era," with Leo Gershoy of New York University as chairman, heard first a paper by Beatrice F. Hyslop of Hunter College on "The French Merchant in 1789." After briefly explaining the work on social structure, 1750–1850, being directed in France by E. Labrousse, Miss Hyslop next summarized the role of the wholesalers in the corporation, town, and bailliage elections of 1789. The wholesalers' instructions were far from unanimous on such key issues as taxes, the treaty of 1786 with England, privileged companies, and guilds and business practices. Despite the fact that the wholesalers were almost the only representatives of the economic life to sit in the States-General, they seemed not to have lived up to the promise of leadership during the National Assembly that they had given evidence of during the electoral period. A second paper, entitled "Merchants Outside of France," by Jacques Godechot of the University of Toulouse, was translated and read by Robert R. Palmer of Princeton University. It argued that the business class was not homogeneous, the great merchants, the small merchants, and guild members often having contrary interests. With exceptions for certain events in Belgium, Switzerland, and Egypt, they took no revolutionary initiative. In all the countries considered, including the United Provinces, Rhineland, and Italy, they showed no hostility once the Revolution had occurred but accepted and hoped to benefit from the new regimes. Jewish businessmen were especially favorable because of the revolutionary principles of civil equality. The commentator, George V. Taylor of the University of North Carolina, emphasized the important new directions of research indicated by these papers. He recommended that economic interests be determined from documents rather than speculation, that the large group of "political indifferents" in these groups be recognized, that the results be expressed in statistical form, and that insights from psychology be implied in the interpretations.

In a session on "Spanish Absolutism—Old and New," chaired by Charles H. Van Duzer of Queens College, Richard Herr of Yale University presented a paper on "Enlightened Despotism in Spain—Prelude to What?" Herr tested the generalization that enlightened despotism was "a preliminary step toward the bourgeois liberalism of the nineteenth century." The administration of Charles III

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fostered a strong mercantilist state in which religious liberty and individualism played no compelling role. The state was unable to defend artisans and peasants against gains by the middle-class and an expanded rural oligarchy. Enlightened despotism presaged the national opposition of future liberals to the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic invasions. In a paper on "Absolutism in Contemporary Spain" Rhea Marsh Smith of Rollins College discussed the constitutional development of Franco's authoritarian state and its present strength and weakness. While bearing a general affinity to Nazism and Fascism, the Spanish Nationalist movement followed its own course. Intervention of military leaders in civil affairs was in the Spanish tradition. The inspiration of the movement stemmed, in part, from civilians in Franco's cabinet, mindful of the need to continue reforms projected by the Revolution of 1931; yet military primacy dictated parliamentary and juridical restrictions. The commentator, Charles E. Nowell of the University of Illinois, while in general agreement with the papers, pointed out the difficulty of establishing a thematic connection between them and questioned the reality of certain social and economic gains as reported by Smith. From the floor, Arthur P. Whitaker suggested that the Enlightenment, in its effects on anticlericalism, had taken a peculiar course in Spain and proposed comparative study.

Walter Phelps Hall of Princeton University presided over a session on "Empires in Devolution—the Home Front." The first paper, by Vincent Confer of Syracuse University, was centered on the theme, too little and too late. He pointed out contradictions in French policy and French politics between the idea of mission civilization and the old-fashioned imperialism of the nineteenth century. John Gwynne-Timothy of the University of Western Ontario noted the process of British devolution between the two world wars and closely analyzed the virtues and the faults of the Commonwealth. As commentator, Edward W. Fox of Cornell University devoted his time to suggesting questions not touched upon by either of the two speakers. Discussion from the floor was inclined to argue that not devolution but disintegration was what was being discussed.

The luncheon session with the Modern European History Section, with Bernadotte E. Schmitt of Alexandria, Virginia, as chairman, heard Gordon Wright of Stanford University read a sparkling paper on "Vichy Revisited." Wright observed that the Vichy episode, although often considered a kind of accidental and insignificant interlude in recent French history, has lately begun to attract more serious attention from scholars. The existence of a remarkably rich and diffuse documentation, much of it contradictory, allowed him to indulge in some general reflections on the Vichy years (1940–1944) and the leading figures. One striking aspect was the heterogeneity of Vichy which, like the Great Revolution, was by no means *un bloc*. One after another, all the various critics of the Third Republic had their innings at Vichy, and the result was to discredit each in turn. Out of this sequence of failures came a new *ralliement* on the part of most of the Right wing. In this sense Vichy cleared the way for a stronger and

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more broadly based republic. Wright then discussed the complex and contradictory roles of Pétain and Laval. A better case can be made for Laval than for Pétain; yet his achievements seem dubious at best. The fact remains that the men of Vichy had to face some of the thorniest moral issues of our time.

VII

Problems of class and bureaucracy interested several of the sessions in the Central and East European field. A joint session with the *Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento* (American Division) was concerned with "Class and Sectional Interests in Italian Economic Development." The chairman was H. Stuart Hughes of Harvard University. Shepard B. Clough of Columbia University discussed "Differential Rates of Economic Growth in North and South Italy since 1860." Taking issue with the well-established view that the economic growth of the south was hindered by union with the center and north, Clough challenged it as a theory built up by polemicists who were moved more by emotion than by empirical evidence. He argued that at the time of unification the south was already economically behind the north and that conditions were more propitious for economic growth in the latter than in the former. A second paper, by Manlio Rossi-Doria of the University of Naples on "The Evolution of the Land Tenure System in Southern Italy and Class Alignments," also challenged some commonly accepted hypotheses on recent Italian economic history. Rossi-Doria differed sharply from a group of younger Marxist historians who have held that the Risorgimento was a "missed" agrarian revolution, that the new land tenure system that resulted was feudalistic in character, and that immobility was the dominant feature of southern economic and social life. He traced the process by which the landowner class increasingly assumed the character of simple *rentiers* without any real function in agricultural production and progress. In his comment, Mario Einaudi of Cornell University dwelt on certain of the rigid and retrograde features of the Italian economy, particularly in the south.

George N. Shuster of Hunter College presided over a session on "Peasantry and Politics in Germany." During the first half of the nineteenth century, said Theodore Hamerow of the University of Illinois discussing "The Peasantry in Revolution and Counter-Revolution, 1848–1858," the German peasantry failed to make an advantageous transition from corporate manorialism to free proprietorship. Revolutionary movements during the late forties received active peasant support, but disillusionment brought about a severance of ties with liberalism. It was conservatism which eventually effected peasant emancipation. Werner T. Angress of the University of California, Berkeley, in his paper on "The Peasantry and the Weimar Republic," held that the German *Bauer,* prior to World War I, accepted Junker leadership in seeking protection of his economic interests, even though that leadership was often disadvantageous. The immediate postwar situation and the period of inflation brought prosperity to the countryside, but the

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high price of capital after stabilization and the fall of world prices for agricultural produce soon brought about widespread impoverishment. When after 1930 the National Socialist party included peasant aid in its program, large-scale support was received for it from a number of rural areas. Alexander Gerschenkron of Harvard University, in his comment, introduced two additional points. First, owing to the manner in which the functions of peasant and Junker were interlocked, any rapidly effected separation of the two would have had adverse effects on the economy, expropriation of the large estates being outside the purview of practical policies. Second, from the strictly economic point of view the Junkers for a time aided the development of capitalism in Germany by producing surplus foodstuffs marketable abroad, while the landless peasants going from the east to the Ruhr and other industrial areas manned factories and mines.

"Changes in Central Europe's Elites" were reviewed in a session under the chairmanship of Gordon A. Craig of Princeton University. Hans Rosenberg of Brooklyn College spoke on "Nineteenth-Century Germany." He discussed the decisive role played by occupation and status in the Prussian civil hierarchy in the nineteenth century, pointing out that, despite the transition to constitutional forms in 1848, the social and political elite was composed, until 1918, of bureaucrats, career diplomats, army officers, and landed aristocrats. Aristocratic attitudes and methods of domination were thus carried over into the world of industrialism, although the social base for elite recruitment gradually broadened, and social mobility manifested itself particularly in the intrusion of non-nobles into the Junker aristocracy. Robert A. Kann of Rutgers University, speaking on "Nineteenth-Century Austria-Hungary," dwelt on the social evolution of the political leadership of Austria in the nineteenth century, denying that the higher civil service in Austria could be regarded either as a caste or as an economic class, since it was marked by a high degree of social and ethnic openmindedness. Its striking characteristic throughout its history was a tradition of imperial service with an aloofness from the nationalities question; in many ways it represented the only major force in the empire which stood above national and social conflict. In his comment, Karl W. Deutsch of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology pleaded for a broader approach to the elite concept, balancing it by a stress on the role of different interest groups. He suggested that the political elites had been broader than the bureaucracies upon which the papers had concentrated and gave specific instances in which the main initiators of policy changes had been outside the ranks of the bureaucracy. Deutsch appealed for more research on elite communication and cohesion—welcoming Kann's inquiry into comparative salary levels in different countries—and on elite performance, pointing out that, despite Rosenberg's criticism of the Prussian bureaucracy, Prussian civil servants seemed to have performed consistently better, by a variety of tests, than their Austrian counterparts. Spirited comment among the participants closed the session.

Philip E. Mosely of the Council on Foreign Relations presided over a session

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on "Wilson, Lenin, and the Liberation of Eastern Europe." In his paper "Wilson, Lenin, and the Liberation of Czechoslovakia," Victor S. Mamatey of Florida State University concluded that the Russian revolutionary and American liberal propaganda stimulated but did not engender the movement toward Czechoslovak independence. Wilsonian America contributed to the Allied victory; Bolshevist Russia did not. Ivo J. Lederer of Yale University reported on "Wilson, Lenin, and the Creation of Yugoslavia," devoting special attention to the newer Marxist interpretations of the emergence of the Yugoslav state. Soviet Russia, rather than America, is credited by these newer authors with the major role in the formation of national states out of the Austro-Hungarian empire. But Lenin had no direct interest in the Yugoslav problem, whereas from the late spring of 1918, Wilson and his program played a major diplomatic role. The paper on "Woodrow Wilson and the Rebirth of Poland," by Louis L. Gerson of the University of Connecticut, attached special importance to the role of the Polish communities in America and their weight in the electoral balance, without underestimating the desire of the Polish people and the efforts of Polish political groups to secure the reestablishment of an independent Polish state. In his comment, Arno J. Mayer of Brandeis University suggested that scholars should devote more attention to the social content of national revolutions; in general, liberation and revolution are fused rather than distinct or contrary forces. He drew attention to the impact of new economic and social forces upon Austria-Hungary as an underdeveloped area of Europe. Discussion from the floor was extended; part of it was disposed to minimize the role of the Polish-American vote in determining Wilson's position on Poland. The Wilsonian doctrine, it was noted, had not been applied to the Ukraine.

Geroid T. Robinson of the Russian Institute, Columbia University, presided over a joint session with the Conference on Slavic and East European Studies devoted to "Russian Interpretations of the October Revolution." In his paper on "Bolshevik Interpretations," Robert H. McNeal of Princeton University emphasized that within Russia the Soviet Communist party had put such pressure on historians that it had "come close to strangling the study of the history of the revolution in its enthusiastic embrace." There had been increasing emphasis on three points: leadership (as compared with environmental conditions), the disjunction between the "bourgeois" revolution of February and the "proletarian" revolution of October, and the importance of October for the Russian nation as such (as compared with the international proletariat). The "Interpretations of the Socialist Revolutionaries" were discussed by Oliver H. Radkey of the University of Texas, who distinguished three groups of "S.-R.'s"—the right, the center, and the left. The right regarded the October Revolution as an evil freak, essentially the work of traitors, scoundrels, and soldiers sick of war; the center said that October was a tragedy that grew out of the failures of February; the left saw October as a millenial mass movement, soon perverted by Bolshevik tyranny. In the third paper,

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"Interpretations by the Liberals," Robert P. Browder of the University of Colorado contrasted the interpretations of two prominent liberals, Maklakov and Miliukov. Maklakov said that the liberals could and should have prevented the February and October revolutions by working within the old regime for a program of reforms; in his earlier writings Miliukov held that the actions of the moderate socialists had made the victory of Lenin possible, later he emphasized broad underlying causes and apparently accepted October as an unavoidable crisis from which Russia would finally emerge regenerated. In his comment, Robert D. Warth of Rutgers University agreed with most of the points made in the three papers, but objected to certain omissions. The papers conveyed the impression that "historiographical chaos reigns as to the proper interpretation of the 'October Revolution' "; however, the papers had dealt more with polemicists than with "real historians." Among the latter, there had been, Warth felt, a substantial advance toward a consensus. The chairman asked if there had been a possibility of effective choice in Russia, among three paths of historical development—repression, reform, revolution? If so, who had been in a position to make that choice? And when? A spirited general discussion showed something less than a consensus, respecting several major questions of fact and interpretation.

At the luncheon session of the Conference on Slavic and East European Studies, with Michael Karpovich in the chair, Harold H. Fisher of San Francisco State College spoke on the "Growing Pains of Slavic and East European Area Training." Fisher said the all-important language problem would be solved only by winning for the Russian language a position in our secondary school and undergraduate curriculum comparable to that held by German, French, and Spanish. He noted also a shortage of economists, lawyers, sociologists, anthropologists, and geographers with an interest in the area. What he stressed most was the need for a greater coordination of effort, and he suggested the organization of a coordinating body, representing all interested disciplines and all sectors of the area.

## VIII

In the field of Asian history, a session on "The Teaching of Asian History at the College Level" heard two contrasting approaches presented, each founded on more than a decade of experience. The chairman was Eugene P. Boardman of the University of Wisconsin. Woodbridge Bingham of the University of California, Berkeley, in a paper on "An Integrated Approach to an All-Asia Survey Course," described the comprehensive introductory work given at California, covering not only China, Japan, Southeast Asia, and India but also Southwest Asia, including Iran and Turkish areas, from the earliest times to the present. Wide coverage was defended on the ground that a broad, elementary historical introduction to all the major civilizations of Asia is essential and is the logical first step to specialized work on more limited areas. John K. Fairbank of Harvard reported on "An Interdisciplinary Course at the Undergraduate Level," discussing the philosophy

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and practice of a general education course at Harvard College, entitled "History of Far Eastern Civilization." The aim of this course is to give a view of East Asian history, culture, society, and current problems. Coverage is limited to the Chinese culture area, i.e., China, Korea, Japan, Vietnam, and Inner Asia, since the beginning. The second semester is taken up with the Western impact, native responses to it, nationalism, and industrialization. Meribeth E. Cameron of Mount Holyoke College as discussant referred to the wide range in the types of courses now offered in American institutions. She suggested that the small college with its limited resources join forces with other similar institutions in its area in cooperative arrangements and that it experiment with the presentation of an introductory course in *one* civilization of the area. Much of the general discussion emphasized the desirability of breadth as against depth. It was noticed that forty per cent of our colleges and universities are still not provided with introductory courses in Asian history.

"Status and Politics in Inner Asia" was the subject of a talk by Owen Lattimore of Johns Hopkins University at the luncheon session with the Conference on Asiatic History, chaired by John F. Cady of Ohio University. The speaker observed that the static conditions of power equilibrium which developed in Inner Asia prior to World War I were displaced during subsequent decades by a situation of rapidly moving balance. The situation now approaches a new semblance of stability. The contemporary scene constitutes a chapter in the long pattern of Inner Asian adjustment. Chinese Communist policy tends to revert to the traditional policy of absorbing contiguous peoples willing and capable of accepting the Chinese way of life. Barbarians not interested in doing so were (and are) left to continue in their own tradition, so long as they are not hostile—as, for the time being, in Tibet. Contrariwise, the traditional Russian pattern for Inner Asia has been for European emigrants, with a more flexible culture than the Chinese, to learn the languages and adapt to the life of the resident Turkish peoples. The Soviet government is currently following the traditional policy of its tzarist predecessors, while the Peking authorities are trying to revise their own traditional tactics in accordance with the pattern of their Russian allies. Complete identity of approach will nevertheless be difficult, if not impossible, to achieve.

A session on "Class and Bureaucracy—A Comparative Historical Analysis," presided over by Edward Kracke, Jr., of the University of Chicago, attempted a wide-ranging comparison. Charles O. Hucker of the University of Arizona dealt with "China before 1905"; Nobutaka Ike of the University of California, Berkeley, with "Japan, 1868–1900"; and Ari Hoogenboom of Texas Western College, El Paso, with the "United States, 1883–1900." All three bureaucracies differed in the geographic and social origins of their members. In more recent China, recruitment was regionally representative. Examinations dominated the recruitment system and stressed the merit principle; the degree of vertical mobility among

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the recruits is debated. In Japan, recruits were at first predominantly samurai of the southwest, and later largely Tokyo Imperial University graduates. In the United States, as examinations increased in use, men without training or ability, largely from Washington or the Northeast, were replaced by a better qualified group, regionally representative. In China, bureaucratic morale depended on the Confucian moral code. In Japan, it rested somewhat on class or regional loyalties. In the United States, it grew with security of tenure and improved professional standards. In his comments, Allan B. Cole, of the Fletcher School, Tufts University, underlined the historic, social, and economic differences that set the two Far Eastern bureaucracies apart from each other as well as from the United States. Gabriel A. Almond of Princeton University stressed the need for a precise and uniform definition of terms and concepts, as a basis for valid and useful comparisons. In the ensuing discussion there were pointed out difficulties in comparing the declining nineteenth-century Chinese system with the United States and Japanese systems, still in their formative stages.

Harry R. Rudin of Yale University could not be present to preside over a session on "Class, Caste, and Power in Southern Africa." Rayford W. Logan of Howard University took his place. John S. Galbraith of the University of California, Los Angeles, in a paper on "South African Racial Policies," pointed out that color prejudice in South Africa has been hardened by almost two centuries of fear by whites that they would be swamped by an overwhelming black majority. The politicians who control the Nationalist party have steadily retreated toward "practical" *apartheid* which by legislation infringes upon the freedom of the white and nonwhite population. Despite the emphasis of the Nationalist government on segregation, an increasing proportion of the industrial population is nonwhite; the days of *apartheid* are therefore numbered. Colin R. Lovell of the University of Southern California in a commentary, read in his absence by Eugene P. Boardman of the University of Wisconsin, stated that the report of the Tomlinson Commission will never be published in full and that the abridged report made public in 1956 was not only delayed but may not even reflect the actual evidence gathered by the commission; in any case, the report is virtually disregarded by the government. Vernon McKay of the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies, in his paper, "European Racial Attitudes in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland," discussed five patterns of thought. Southern Rhodesian wealthy tobacco planters and highly paid workers in the Northern Rhodesian copper belt who plan to return to Europe or to South Africa want to maintain the status quo. Certain members of the business, farming, and mining communities think that something needs to be done but that the first step will lead ultimately to the black man's becoming the senior partner. Lord Malvern, Sir Roy Welensky, and other influential leaders of the Federal party favor a gradualist approach that would save Central Africa from the black nationalism to the north and from the *apartheid* policy in the Union. The Dominion party insists

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that immediate steps be taken to buttress the walls of segregation. The Interracial Association and the Capricorn African Society urge that immediate steps must be taken to advance Africans more rapidly. Carl G. Rosberg, Jr., of Boston University voiced the conclusion that federation has acted as a precipitant factor in the emergence of organized African nationalism.

## IX

Several sessions had a bearing on particular phases of the historian's craft, as a craft, or on its wider relations with the society of its time. The joint session with the American Association for State and Local History attracted an audience of generous size. Its subject was "Local History: Contributions and Techniques." The chairman was Clifford L. Lord of the Wisconsin State Historical Society. Benjamin W. Labaree of Connecticut College analyzed the mercantile leadership of Newburyport, Massachusetts, in the Revolutionary period. Constituting only twenty-five per cent of the population and one third of the voters, this class effectively dominated town affairs. Yet the interplay of the "habit of deference" on the part of the artisans with the merchants' awareness that their policies had to meet with popular approval, if their office-holding was to continue, produced interesting results. The merchants, for instance, were far more ready for the radical disruption of trade with Great Britain than were the artisans. For a while the conservative counsels of the artisans prevailed, and the merchants had to resort to secret agreements with their fellow merchants of other Massachusetts ports. Edward M. Riley of Colonial Williamsburg spoke of the research program at Williamsburg, the dragnet attempt to locate all source material bearing on the eighteenth-century town, and the building up of a central research file open to all scholars as well as to the staff of the Restoration. He noted, as had Labaree, the diversity of the sources of local history and stressed the change of focus at Williamsburg from physical restoration to an understanding of the people who constituted the town, half of them domestic servant slaves. He also mentioned the "Occupational Survey," in which occupational data on all Williamsburg citizens of the eighteenth century were being tabulated on punch cards. In his comment, Bayrd Still of New York University spoke of the diversity of sources for the local historian and found the questions raised by the speakers valid in applying the findings of local history to large problems of the American scene; he asked for further studies of the differences in behavioral patterns between the larger and smaller cities and in the influence of the larger upon the smaller. A spirited forty-five minute discussion continued after the formal adjournment.

A luncheon session with the Society of American Archivists heard J. Harold Easterby of the South Carolina Archives Department discuss "The Colonial Records of South Carolina: An Adventure in Editing and Publishing State Archives." South Carolina research institutions and the state Archives Department were unable during the 1920's and 1930's to prevent the removal of large numbers

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of private manuscripts to more active repositories in other states or the destruction of even greater numbers by owners who were not made aware of their value. The result was an organized movement, essentially professional in its spirit, to draw the University into the field as the chief collector of private records and to rejuvenate the Archives Department which had custody of remarkably rich collections of colonial and early state documents. Both objectives have been attained, and among the notable results was the launching by the Archives Department of a publication program now projected to a total of forty volumes which, it is hoped, will make available by 1973 all the colonial records of high research value. The chairman of this session was Lester J. Cappon of the Institute of Early American History and Culture.

In a session on "The Historian and the Businessman" the scheduled chairman, Allan Nevins of Columbia University, because of another commitment, could not be present; his place was taken by Max Lerner of Brandeis University. Ralph W. Hidy of Harvard University summarized "Lessons Learned in Writing the History of an Industrial Giant." He saw in such histories the concrete expression of the more general forces operative in the economic history of the nation, particularly the forces making for bigness. He noted the relationship between the efficiencies and economies effected by the big corporation and the success it achieved in absorbing and eliminating competitors. He warned against a too destructive attitude by historians in writing such histories, lest it play into the hands of the enemies of democratic society in the present world struggle. Theodore F. Marburg of Marquette University, speaking on "Problems in Writing the History of a Small Business," emphasized the paucity of business records in the case of most small firms and the pitfalls that the historian encountered in making use of what records were available. He laid stress on the human relations among the people involved in the management of the firms. William Miller of Ridgefield, Connecticut, in his comment felt that Hidy had moved too lightly over some of the more antisocial practices of Standard Oil and had overstressed the efficiency of the trusts at the expense of understressing their ruthlessness. He took exception to the warning about not giving aid and comfort to our enemies in the present ideological struggle. There was lively and critical discussion from the floor.

One session of broad interest was concerned with "The Historian and the Research Foundations," under the chairmanship of Waldo Gifford Leland, director emeritus of the American Council of Learned Societies. The discussion was begun by James F. Mathias of the Guggenheim Foundation speaking on "The Foundation and the Historian." He pointed out that assistance to institutions and groups, given by the Rockefeller, Carnegie, and Ford foundations, usually reached the individual after a secondary distribution made ordinarily by special committees of professional scholars and generally on the basis of projects which fit into predetermined programs. The grants of the Guggenheim Foundation, on the other hand, are made on the basis of the capacity and promise of the individual, more

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or less irrespective of his project. He pointed out that the social sciences, in which he included history, have fared relatively well of late years. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., of Harvard University directed attention chiefly to the three largest foundations and reported the results of an inquiry he had addressed to representative scholars in the field of history as to their criticisms of foundation practices and policies. These revealed a supposed preference on the part of foundations for projects yielding definite answers to specific contemporary problems, for group research rather than that of individuals, and for the behavioral sciences. Some felt that foundations failed to understand the method or purpose of history and its role in our culture. Schlesinger called attention to the homogenizing tendency of contemporary society and felt that foundations had complacently drifted along with this tide. He insisted that from scholars we need ideas, vision, and courage, which are not produced by committees. The chairman, doubling as commentator, drew upon a long personal experience in securing foundation assistance. He recalled the creation by the Carnegie Institution of Washington, in 1903, of the Department of Historical Research which carried on for more than a quarter of a century a program directed by John Franklin Jameson on fundamental work in American history. He also referred to the American Philosophical Society which, through its Committee on Research, spends each year very substantial sums for the assistance of research in the humanities and social science, in which history has an important part. He believed that a broad definition of the field of history would show that a great many grants to individuals in such other fields as philology, economics, archaeology, art, and philosophy have important implications for history. The general discussion following dealt mainly with procedures in securing grants.

Well attended was a general interest session on "The Historian and the General Public" with Clarence H. Faust of the Fund for the Advancement of Education presiding. Alfred A. Knopf of New York, speaking on "Publishing Historical Books," centered his attention on the problems of making a success of historical books. He illustrated in interesting detail the relative lack of financial success in such publications. "Editing the Historical Magazine" was discussed by Louis B. Wright of the Folger Shakespeare Library. He gave a concrete and lively account of the problems of editing manuscripts of historians for publication in historical magazines. In some detail Donald N. Bigelow of Brandeis University surveyed the current use made of television in teaching history. He described and analyzed the possibilities of television for the historian as a classroom instrument and as a means of reaching the public. Today, said Bigelow, there is a new look in educational television. The ensuing discussion was spirited and uncovered considerable divergence of judgment on two major questions. One was whether the lack of success of historical books and the difficulties of editors of historical journals could be traced to the fact that historians wrote badly, or at least carelessly, or whether the lack of success of historical publications was a result of a

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lack of intellectual, or at least historical, appetite in the general reading public. The other main topic of discussion was the desirability and effectiveness of television. Some experience in the successful use of television in reaching a general audience was cited. Questions were raised about the adequacy of appraisals of the effectiveness of television teaching and of the receptivity of the public to television programs dealing with historical materials. Concerning both of the major subjects of discussion it was questioned whether for one reason or another historians at the elementary, the secondary, and the college levels have failed to make the most of their opportunities for stimulating in those who will later form the general public a deep and continuing interest in historical matters and the historical approach to human problems.

The session of broadest scope in the 1957 meeting was that on "East and West at Mid-Century" with Herbert Feis of the Institute of Advanced Study as chairman. The one scheduled speaker was Paul G. Hoffman of the Committee for Free Europe and of the Asia Foundation whose subject was "Some Shifting Patterns of Ideology and Status." Hoffman addressed himself to the question: Is there a possibility of a shift in policy on the part of Russian leaders from aggressively attempting to communize the world to that of "live and let live"? Surveying the last dozen years he discerned various developments within the Soviet Union which might bring about such a change of policy. The rhythm of Russian imperial expansion in the satellite world of Eastern Europe has been broken; existing leadership within Russia, its nature changing, was deep in trouble with much unrest; the United Nations with world opinion was separating the former colonial and underdeveloped peoples from Soviet influence. The West should give aid, but with full respect for sovereignty and neutral sentiment. The chairman directed part of the discussion to the import or outcome of the intensifying cold war, with competition in the development of distinctive weapons. In the large audience, Hoffman's affirmations aroused lively questioning on diverse aspects of his discourse.

## X

The dinner session of the Association, invariably a high point at each annual meeting, was held on Sunday evening in the Grand Ball Room of the Hotel Statler. There was a large attendance at the tables, gradually augmented on the main floor and in the balcony, as additional auditors assembled for the presidential address. Boyd C. Shafer, Executive Secretary of the Association, introduced the Toastmaster, Arthur W. Page, Chairman of the Association's Board of Trustees.

One focus of interest at the annual dinner is always the announcement of prizes. Dr. Shafer announced the 1957 awards as follows: the George Louis Beer Prize for the best work in European international history since 1895 to Alexander Dallin, Columbia University, for *German Rule in Russia, 1941–1945;* honorable mention, Norman Kogan, University of Connecticut, for *Italy and the Allies;* the

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Albert J. Beveridge Award, for the best complete manuscript on American history (history of the United States, Latin America, and Canada) to David M. Pletcher, Hamline University, for his "Rails, Mines, and Progress: Seven American Promoters in Mexico, 1867–1911"; honorable mention, Albert Castel, University of California, Los Angeles, for "A Frontier State at War: Kansas, 1861–1865."

The Toastmaster next introduced the speaker of the evening, William L. Langer, the President of the Association. In felicitous phrasing, drawn in part from that used in a citation attendant upon the award, some years ago, of the Medal for Merit, he called attention to Langer's long record of academic and government service. The presidential address, "The Next Assignment," proved stimulating and provocative; it was published in the January, 1958, issue of *The American Historical Review*.

As this program chairman draws to the close of his assignment, he must record his indebtedness to many individuals. Some must be mentioned specifically. Foremost he is obligated to his colleagues on the Program Committee who linked their fortunes with his in this undertaking. They gave their service at no little cost to other interests or duties. They were at all times generous in counsel, diligent in working out their separate tasks, and unfailingly patient with the chairman's requests. To the Executive Secretary, Boyd C. Shafer, the chairman is deeply grateful for aid and counsel, often sought and always forthcoming. He must record also his indebtedness to the session chairmen for so uniformly sending on their session summaries. Now he must hope that their fund of forbearance and tolerance will hold out when they contemplate the severity with which, in preparing this report, he frequently has curtailed the phrasing of these summaries.

When the deliberations on the 1957 program began, *Sputnik* was enshrouded in the concealing folds of the future. By the time those deliberations were closing *Sputnik*, with a companion, was aloft, supposedly heralding a new age—the space age. How new it would prove might be debatable; more certain was the prospect that, as often, the new would have quite a bit of the old in it. And with the old, would have perennial need of the historian. Was some sense of this perhaps reflected in the record attendance at the 1957 meeting? One observer, at least, felt he had a right to wonder.

*New York University* OSCAR J. FALNES

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# The Year's Business, 1957

## REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY AND MANAGING EDITOR FOR 1957

Nearly always in the world's history it has been later than men have thought. Thus far in the world's history, it has never been too late to think. What the world now needs is sober thought in the humanities and social sciences, for the physical scientists have carried us into outer space before we have learned to manage our lives well on the earth's surface. It may be too late for anyone to save men and their earthbound civilizations. It is not yet too late to think of what we can do if we only have enough knowledge and, of course, the wisdom to use it.

Historians may or may not be able to supply wisdom. I like to think that they can, but I do not know. Historians can supply knowledge of men's experience. Of this there is no doubt. From Thucydides to Machiavelli, from Macauley to Ranke to Michelet to Meinecke to Becker, historians have extended men's knowledge of themselves and their affairs. We living historians, humble and modest about our studies as we ought to be, can extend this knowledge of experience if we have the tools, the time, the opportunities, the imagination.

Somewhere in the *Great Renewal,* Francis Bacon spoke of three kinds of ambition among men. The first, the extension of personal power, he called "vulgar and degenerate." The second, the enlargement of a country's power over others (we call it imperialism) had dignity, but was no less covetous. The third, the establishment of man's power over the universe, Bacon thought "more wholesome" and "more noble."

We are in a fair way to fulfill Bacon's ambitious dream of exercising control over the physical universe. We are, in a kind of fog of dehumanization hinting of 1984, in danger of losing our power to control and order human affairs. At any moment some men may destroy all men and all civilization. Our only chance now, and it has always been the only chance for men, is to civilize, to humanize, to understand ourselves. We may go on only to shoot rockets and missiles at the moon or even Venus. The United States and Russia, striving to outdo each other with science that is no longer fiction, may construct more and more, and more deadly IRBM's and ICBM's and use them. Suppose the United States and Russia go to war and fire successfully these weapons. What will men have gained?—an empty radioactive earth. But suppose we, men, in some devoutly to be desired sane moments, try not so much to outdo and destroy each other as to understand, to ameliorate (I do not say appease), to gain knowledge of how men may get along with each other without firing nuclear warheads. The only place we can search to find answers is in men's history. Thucydides and Machiavelli can tell us a good deal, both about how to prosecute a war and what might be done to avoid war.

I do not know that our search for ways and means to avoid catastrophe will



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succeed. Frankly, I am skeptical. I do not know that history teaches that good overcomes evil. History teaches everything and nothing or almost anything one wants to get from it. Men have warred and they have been peaceful, been belligerent and meek, and all stages in between. But if history holds no positive lessons that historians can inculcate, it does seem to show us possibilities, to reveal that knowledge and education can lead to some kind of mastery over human affairs.

If history does not teach any particular lesson, it mirrors all human experience. The uninformed may debunk history and historians all they will, but learned Greeks of the fifth and fourth centuries did reflect rather profoundly about man, his individual dilemmas, and his societies; the learned theologians of the thirteenth century did reason rather deeply about religion and right conduct; the humanists of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries did think keenly about man's potentialities and his arts; and the scientists of the seventeenth century did gain knowledge of the physical nature of the universe and of man. If these philosophers, theologians, humanists, and scientists did not attain omniscience, and if they did not arrive at godlike wisdom, they did, with their knowledge, their reason, and their experiments, win for us potential power over ourselves and over nature. And we, the historians, are the discoverers, the custodians, the transmitters of their rich experience.

Bound to the reactors of our own twentieth century, we may fail and we may die. But if we fail and die, let it not be because we lack knowledge.

History among the humanities and the social sciences is one way to knowledge. Our Association and our *Review* are minor but not insignificant instruments to obtain and to spread knowledge.

What do we need to do, what must we do if we are to succeed as historians, as practitioners of an old, honorable, and useful profession?

It is easy to say that we must be studious and learned, persistent in pursuit of knowledge, scholarly in our researches, and restrained and objective in our publications and in our teaching. These are admirable generalizations, truisms with which we all agree. But what must we do concretely, what ought we clearly stand for, work for, demand? Certainly our fundamental aims are not higher salaries, though we are comparatively ill paid; certainly not buildings, though well supplied as we are, we need more; certainly not promotions, though some of us deserve them; certainly not just status in our society, though it could be higher. The aims for us as historians are the attainment of historical knowledge and the sharing of this knowledge through publications and in the classrooms. As men and as citizens, we may and should have other larger goals. As historians, we perform our responsibilities well in proportion as we acquire and add to historical knowledge and share this knowledge with our fellows.

What do we concretely need? We need training, especially for our younger men, in the skills of research, writing, and teaching. We need tools of research. We all need to be more liberally educated than we are.

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During the past four as in previous years, the Association in its small sphere has been able to take short steps toward the achievement of these aims. We have neither streamlined nor added tail fins. We have no jet power, no rockets. We have only a modest building and no red carpets. We have limited funds and never enough energy. And yet with high goals of knowledge and wisdom which we will never reach, we have been able to help a little.

The Association has always tried to promote the study of history—scholarly, not popular history—in America. We are now, as usual, supplying tools of research. We are again helping in the improvement of the teaching of history in the schools. We have begun to study our graduate education and our teaching needs in colleges and universities.

When I came to the Association and the *Review* a little more than four years ago, I followed in the footsteps of great men, Jameson, Leland, and Ford, to mention only three. During my four years I have worked closely with many other fine historians, Solon Buck, to mention only one. From this focal point in the profession I have come to know something more about history and historians than I learned in my previous twenty years in the profession. What I have learned and learned again is how demanding scholarship, the pursuit of knowledge, really is. And I have learned, too, that to assist in the pursuit may be in itself a productive adventure.

What does historical scholarship in the United States demand today? How can it be made most productive? We must have tools with which to work. Some of these tools are bibliographies and indexes, dry and demanding in accuracy as they may be. A general plan I envisaged for bibliographies is beginning to be realized. Last year the Association published the *Index to the Writings in American History, 1902–1940*. Over a thousand copies have been distributed. We are told the *Index* is indispensable; it does appear to be useable. This year Conyers Read has completed his thorough revision of his bibliography on the Tudor period, and the volume has gone to press. Edgar Graves is working on his completely new guide to medieval English history, and Mary Frear Keeler has begun her major revision of the bibliography for the Stuart period. Stanley Pargellis should take a bow for his skill in getting these works started, and all of us who will use these guides ought to nod in the direction of the Ford Foundation which has provided the funds to prepare them.

With the able leadership of men like Reginald Phelps and Lynn Case we are preparing guides and indexes to the German war documents that are or were in Britain and the United States. We are at work, with Richard Hale as our editor, and through a grant by the Council on Library Resources, on a new guide to photographed materials (not photographs) of historical value in Canada and the United States. I am delighted to report that as a result of the plans of George Howe and his committee the work on the new monumental and long-awaited *Guide to Historical Literature* is progressing, that copy for it is be-

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ginning to come in and is being edited. There is a fair chance that the volume will be published in 1959. To the yet unmentioned many historians who have worked on these guides, to, for example, Howard Ehrmann, William C. Davis, Fritz Epstein, George Hallgarten, and Robert Eckles, we owe gratitude. Their labor will make ours easier in the future and will make possible research and publication which without guides could never be accomplished.

Tools like these mean something if they facilitate research, make it easier, more comprehensive, more accurate, and eventually lead to good teaching, good books. But they do not get books published. We have not been able to help in the publication of books as we would like to do. The great foundations, happily, have given us grants in substantial amounts for the production of research tools but not, unhappily, for publication. The two Beveridge winners of last year, Schroeder, "The Axis Alliance and Japanese-American Relations, 1941," and Spence, "British Investment and the American Mining Frontier, 1860–1901," are in press, or soon will be. Again this year, the Beveridge Committee, headed by John Hope Franklin, will recommend the publication of two manuscripts. But, as I pointed out last year, our Revolving Fund for Publication has almost revolved out of existence. We have been unable to replenish it. As a result, scholarly books go begging for publishers and the world needs knowledge.

Our prizes chiefly honor books already published. We are proud of our awards, though we hope that in some cases their monetary rewards can be inincreased a bit. This year the Association offered for the first time the Moses Coit Tyler Prize for an outstanding work in American intellectual history, a prize of $1,500 plus publication, made possible by the Cornell University Press and the labor of our committee headed by Merle Curti. Because the committee could not decide upon a manuscript it considered sufficiently outstanding, the prize will not be awarded this year. We shall open the competition again in 1959. Our *ad hoc* Committee on Prizes and Awards recommends that we accept no new prizes which do not carry substantial monetary awards and that the Association, in the future, favor prizes enabling publication of works in manuscript. These recommendations we should follow.

We do, of course, publish our encyclopedic *Review*. Every three months from 280 to 300 pages of articles, reviews, notices, news, and bibliography appear. We published in 1956–57 thirteen articles, six "Notes and Suggestions," and 553 reviews and notices (517 last year) of books in all fields of history. We receive an ever mounting number of books (1,500 this year) from all over the world and an ever mounting number of articles (173 this year, 153 last year). The Board of Editors and the numerous specialists who read for us have had many essays to consider. The Managing Editor must here say a word of appreciation, for without the willing specialists to advise him, he could not maintain the *Review*'s high standards. Without the scholarly assistance of T. R. S. Broughton and Loren MacKinney, who retire from the Board of Editors this year, for ex-

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ample, he would often have been lost in the intricacies of ancient and medieval history.

Your Editor was told in Italy and Switzerland this year of the high respect European scholars have for our *Review,* but he is far from being satisfied. He can say that the *Review* is carefully edited, that it is catholic in its interests and coverage, and that it appears to be useful and needed. Nevertheless, with the Board of Editors he is constantly seeking ways to improve it. This year we have, for instance, added about three hundred historians to our file of possible reviewers. But I have discovered that we should be cautious about change. The *Review* now is valued by thousands of historians, each department of it. I was tempted once to reduce the size of the lists of articles, only to find on questioning many of our colleagues that they really used these lists. It may be of interest to note that our *Review* lists of articles are extensive—in American history, for example, by far the most comprehensive, current list published.

Books, articles, reviews are to be read. They are ways of spreading knowledge. We could, we historians, win a few more readers, educate a few more people in history if we would always write to be read. I do not desire to make the *Review* or any of our publications best sellers, but we could win readers, perhaps double their now limited number, if we would avoid the passive voice, learn again the art of narration, make our people, our abstract terms, even our statistics, come to life through vivid example. I do, on the other hand, thank the fates or whatever it is that has spared us the atrocities committed in the name of social scientific terminology.

Publication is only one way we share knowledge. Far more sharing, I suspect, is done in the classrooms of the high schools, colleges, and universities. Our Service Center for Teachers, directed by George Carson, is in its second year. Its consultant service has been utilized, though not as much as we had hoped. High school teachers and administrators from New England to Texas to California have met with Dr. Carson or one of our expert consultants. The Service Center's booklets for teachers, designed to survey late research and guide teachers in their reading, have, on the other hand, been widely circulated and generally acclaimed. Five have been published so far, and of these, 16,000 copies have been printed of one title and 14,000 of another. When I am asked whether our venture to help high school teachers has been a success, I can only reply that it is too early to judge. I believe that the Service Center has already had some salutary effects and that it has a chance to assist in the raising of the level of high school courses in history.

We are about to embark on the college and university seas with two other efforts to improve teaching. We will soon bring, with the guidance of a committee headed by Holden Furber and through a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, the first of about fifteen professors of South Asian history to the United States to teach on a university level. The first one will be Professor

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R. C. Majumdar of India. He will teach for a year at the universities of Chicago and Pennsylvania.

Last year Dexter Perkins' presidential address concerned the teaching of history. More reprints of this address were distributed on the request of individuals and institutions than of any other paper printed in the *Review* in the last four years. This reveals the intense and healthy interest in the subject. This year Dexter Perkins heads a committee to study our professional needs, particularly in graduate education. With a small grant from the Carnegie Corporation made directly to Professor Perkins, the committee is beginning its study of the content and requirements of our graduate training, the methods used in giving it, and the needs for history teachers in the next ten years. Quite wisely the committee is not studying our professional needs *in vacuo*. One of the vital questions it proposes to face is how the teaching of history is related to the other humanities, to liberal arts, and to liberal education.

As scholars, as historians, as researchers, as teachers, as writers, we have acquired some marvelous technical and specialized skills. Let no one underrate the great advances that have been made in the acquisition and propagation of historical knowledge. Like the physical scientists, though to a lesser degree, we historians know a great deal more than our ancestors about the techniques, about the facts (or lack of them), and we have woven hypotheses of wonder, though our testing of them leaves much to be desired. We still, it is obvious, need to know more about our own craft and about the so-called auxiliary sciences from paleography to statistics to psychoanalysis.

Nevertheless, our greatest present need is for liberally educated historians, historians who not only are skilled specialists in command of the languages, the bibliographies, and the techniques, who not only possess the ability to write simple but eloquent prose, but historians who also, out of wide reading and deep experience, are imaginative, learned, skeptical, critical, and urbane. We need liberally educated historians, many more than we have.

Only in the degree that a man is liberally educated can he hope to understand other men, other men in history as well as his contemporaries. If a historian wishes truly to understand a politician of the past, he must know politics, both the practice and the philosophy; in addition, a bit of experience, acquired directly in his own time, will make the practice and the philosophy come alive. If a historian wants to understand politics, he must be something of a politician himself, and if he is fully to understand his subject, he must also comprehend all the forces, economic, social, cultural, that have always stirred politicians to act. Or, if a historian wishes to understand a particular historical period, he cannot do so without knowledge of all its parts. Historical politics cannot be divorced from economics and religion, nor economics from politics and religion, nor religion from economics and politics. Nor, finally, can the particular historical period be divorced from all the flow of history that has preceded it.

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Again, if a historian wishes to know the history of a locality, or a class, or a town, or a social group, he cannot, if he wishes comprehension, study them in isolation. Towns and classes are part of larger communities, states, national, international, and of history as well. He who says he does not need to study, say, European towns and classes in order to understand the American, is limited in understanding. Should he then persist in his provincialism, his works will be superficial and better left unpublished. This may be a cruel judgment, but it is nevertheless a true one.

All of this is to say only that the individual fact is meaningless unless it is placed in the larger context of the civilization or civilizations of which it is a part and unless it is somehow fitted into the flow of history. Facts, however factual or fascinating, have little except encyclopedic value unless they are put into large frameworks, in which case they are no longer isolated but related. Facts to be made meaningful must be considered to be gregarious. And, as it is with facts, so is it with historical studies and, in fact, all knowledge.

Must a historian know everything? Yes, ideally, he must. Of course he will never succeed, but the ideal remains. And there is another major reason why he should be well and liberally educated. To be so educated is to be able to see implications, meanings, possibilities. It is to be conscious of human potentialities both for good and for evil. It is to be able, because one knows men's experiences, to ask questions, many varied and subtle questions of evidence and in truth, to be able to discover what the evidence really and fully means. Now no one is, or can be, fully educated. But again, in proportion as one knows, say, Shakespeare, one can ask questions not only of Tudor and Stuart England but of historical ideas and characters everywhere and anywhere. So it is with the findings (though some be superficial) of anthropology, psychology, economics, political science, and sociology. While often we cannot use the findings of other disciplines, we can, from the other disciplines, learn to ask questions, questions, say, about the role of status, or race, or rites and mysteries, or money, or power, or priests.

All of this will sound platitudinous to some of us, idealistic and vague to others. But it needs saying. I say it here because, as I work for the *Review* and for the Association, I see studies little connected with the wide and deep experience of men. These studies, too often, I am afraid, are the result of the kind of training we give our young men and women. At times I long for the old classical curriculum. At least in encountering it, students bumped up against great thinkers and great ideas. I know that the old classical studies cannot and will not be revived. My plea is only that specialization be made clearly part of liberal learning. Though I suspect all panaceas, I am convinced that from liberal learning and from liberal learning only will we be able *perhaps* to gain the wisdom to win power, not only over the physical universe, but over ourselves.

The Association and the *Review* strive to promote historical knowledge from which we hope wisdom may come. We succeed sometimes. We fail others. As we

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proceed, we deal with many matters, some exciting, some prosaic and workaday. Hoping to facilitate international exchange of historical ideas, we, with leadership provided by Waldo Leland and Donald McKay, have obtained funds from the Ford Foundation to bring the Bureau of the International Committee of Historical Sciences to the United States for the first time, and ten or a dozen distinguished historians of the Bureau will be in the States in October, 1958. On a phase of our national history, diplomatic history, I can report that the State Department, accepting a suggestion of our Committee on the Historian and the Federal Government (Edward Younger, Chairman), has appointed a committee of seven well-known historians, political scientists, and international lawyers to advise its historical division. On a local level we were able, with the aid of Senator Leverett Saltonstall and Representative George McGovern (Ph.D., Northwestern, 1953), to obtain amendments to our Congressional charter which eliminated an outdated property limitation and exempted our headquarters from District of Columbia taxes. By persistence, luck, and because we have had good projects, we have been able to obtain generous foundation grants to promote specific historical studies. But we have not been able to obtain funds for publication of books.

Often we neither succeed nor fail. Our frustrations are not few. We have over 7,000 members. We have an extremely small staff—to be precise, five and two fifths people. Though we work like Trojans, we cannot do everything historians want us to do, and we have to spend considerable time doing things historians might well do for themselves did they take more thought. Students and their advisers incorrectly fill out the simple forms for doctoral dissertations. Members, and we like members, send us unsigned checks or letters, or forget to send their changes of address, and then in heat, write to ask why they have not received their copies of the *Review*. American historians, like their fellow citizens, are people on the move. More than 15 per cent of our membership change addresses every year, and over 600 did this year in August and September. We can scarcely keep up with them. Some historians, too, make demands impossible to satisfy. We obtain a foundation grant for a specific historical purpose. Members, thinking money is money and that the Association is rich, *which it is not,* ask us to divert it to other purposes. But foundation funds can be used only for the specific purposes for which they were granted, and we must reply with a firm "No." Sometimes we are asked to promote worthy projects which we find to be outside our chartered purposes, and, again, the answer must be "No," no matter how worthy the cause, no matter how unhappy those who ask become.

Your headquarters people work. Our outgoing mail much of the time runs to over a hundred letters and books a day, and though each day we try to catch up with the incoming mail, always more manuscripts, more books, more requests for information and help, more address changes, more committee reports, more job register forms, more new projects pour in, and we never catch up.

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In spite of our frustrations, which after all mark growth rather than stagnation, we render a service to the cause of historical study, to the humanities. The American Historical Association and the *American Historical Review* are historians', your instruments in this service. You can truthfully say that they are promoting history in America and historical knowledge throughout the world. As they do this, they will perhaps aid our fellows in gaining control of their affairs before it is too late, and this, to paraphrase Bacon's words, is not unwholesome or ignoble.

BOYD C. SHAFER, *Executive Secretary and Managing Editor*

## MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, HOTEL STATLER, NEW YORK CITY, DECEMBER 27, 1957, 10:00 A.M.

Present: William L. Langer, President; Walter Prescott Webb, Vice-President; Solon J. Buck, Treasurer; Boyd C. Shafer, Executive Secretary; Carl Bridenbaugh, Walter L. Dorn, James B. Hedges, Helen Taft Manning, Robert R. Palmer, Stanley Pargellis, C. Vann Woodward, Councillors; Merle Curti, Dexter Perkins, former Presidents.

President Langer called the meeting to order.

The Council approved the minutes of its 1956 meeting as published in the April, 1957, issue of the *American Historical Review* (pp. 781–88).

As the report of the Executive Secretary and Managing Editor of the *Review* had been previously sent to the members of the Council, it was not read. The Executive Secretary reported an increase in membership of 447 during the past year, bringing the total membership to over 7,000. He pointed to the increasing mechanical difficulties in headquarters' work arising out of the increase in membership as well as out of the frequent changes of addresses of members (over fifteen per cent a year).

The Treasurer of the Association, Dr. Solon J. Buck, reported on the financial condition of the Association for the fiscal year 1956–57. The total assets, including special and restricted funds for several projects, totaled $869,000. Approval of the mimeographed report previously sent to each member of the Council was unanimously given.

Reporting as the chairman of the Finance Committee, Dr. Buck asked approval of the proposed budgets for 1957–58 and 1958–59. The budgets were approved with these additions: The sum of $2,450 was allowed for printing of the *Program* instead of the original $2,200 as provided by the tentative proposed budgets for 1957–58 and 1958–59. The Council allotted $200 additional beyond the proposed sums for each of the two years for meetings of the Council and committees. The Council approved additional sums spent during 1956–57 for social security for employees and for payments to the Macmillan Company for

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copies of the *Review* sent to members. In order to eliminate certain inequities in payments under previous rulings, the Council voted to change the allotments for meetings of the Council and Board of Editors. For attendance at their regular annual meetings, members of the Council and Board of Editors may obtain expenses to include: (1) one half travel expenses (including meals and accommodations while traveling); (2) one day's expenses at headquarters hotel, including room and board; providing that no member receives compensation for expenses not actually incurred, or otherwise covered by payments from any agency (or institution), and that the total sum allowed to any one member for all expenses not exceed $150.

For the Pacific Coast Branch, Professor Solomon Katz of the University of Washington reported to the Council. He indicated that the Branch now has over 800 members and that this year its annual program included twenty-two sessions. He also remarked that the finances of the Branch were in good condition and that at the moment the Branch has a balance of $619. The Council accepted the report.

The Executive Secretary, for the Committee on Committees, submitted nominations to the Council for additions and changes on the various Association committees. The committees for 1958 as approved are listed below:

*Committee on Committees.*—Cyril E. Black, Princeton University; William Hogan,* Tulane University; Walter Johnson,* University of Chicago; Earl S. Pomeroy, University of Oregon; Boyd C. Shafer, Washington, D. C. (ex officio).

*Committee on Documentary Reproduction.*—Robert B. Eckles, Purdue University, chairman; Cyril E. Black,* Princeton University; William R. Braisted, University of Texas; Edgar L. Erickson, University of Illinois; Richard W. Hale, Jr., Boston University; Loren C. McKinney, University of North Carolina; C. Easton Rothwell, Hoover Library; Boyd C. Shafer, Washington, D. C. (ex officio); Clifford K. Shipton, Worcester, Massachusetts.

*Committee on the Guide to Historical Literature.*—George F. Howe, Washington, D. C., chairman; Gray C. Boyce, Northwestern University; T. Robert S. Broughton, Bryn Mawr College; Howard S. Cline, Library of Congress; Sidney B. Fay, Cambridge, Massachusetts; Michael Kraus, City College of New York; Earl Pritchard, University of Chicago; Boyd C. Shafer, Washington, D. C. (ex officio).

*Committee on the Harmsworth Professorship.*—C. Vann Woodward, Johns Hopkins University, chairman; Arthur Bestor,* University of Illinois; Frank Freidel,* Harvard University.

*Committee on the Historian and the Federal Government.*—Edward Younger, University of Virginia, chairman; Thomas A. Bailey, Stanford University;

* New member this year.

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Samuel F. Bemis, Yale University; Wood Gray, George Washington University; Richard W. Leopold, Northwestern University; Maurice Matloff,* Washington, D. C.; Jeannette P. Nichols, University of Pennsylvania; Dexter Perkins, Cornell University; Boyd C. Shafer, Washington, D. C. (ex officio).

*Committee on Honorary Members.*—Felix Gilbert, Bryn Mawr College, chairman; Paul Clyde,* Duke University; Sydney N. Fisher, Ohio State University; Oscar Halecki,* Fordham University; Charles E. Odegaard, University of Michigan; Boyd C. Shafer, Washington, D. C. (ex officio); Arthur P. Whitaker, University of Pennsylvania.

*Committee on International Historical Activities.*—Waldo G. Leland, Washington, D. C., chairman; John Curtiss, Duke University; Chester Easum,* University of Wisconsin; Martin R. P. McGuire, Catholic University of America; Donald C. McKay, Amherst College; Caroline Robbins, Bryn Mawr College; Bernadotte F. Schmitt, Alexandria, Virginia; Boyd C. Shafer, Washington, D. C. (ex-officio); Arthur P. Whitaker, University of Pennsylvania.

*Committee on the Job Register.*—Roderic H. Davison, George Washington University; Aubrey Land, University of Nebraska; Charles G. Sellers, Jr., Princeton University; Boyd C. Shafer, Washington, D. C. (ex officio).

*Committee on the Littleton-Griswold Fund.*—Edward Dumbauld, Uniontown, Pennsylvania, chairman; John J. Biggs, Jr.,* Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Julius Goebel, Columbia University; William B. Hamilton, Duke University; George L. Haskins, University of Pennsylvania; Mark DeWolfe Howe, Harvard University; Leonard W. Labaree, Yale University; Richard L. Morton, College of William and Mary; David J. Mays, Richmond, Virginia; Boyd C. Shafer, Washington, D. C. (ex officio); Joseph Smith,* New York City.

*Committee on South Asian History.*—Holden Furber, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Merle Curti, University of Wisconsin; Robert I. Crane, University of Michigan; David Owen, Harvard University; Earl Pritchard, University of Chicago; Boyd C. Shafer, Washington, D. C. (ex officio).

*Committee for the Study of War Documents.*—Oron J. Hale, University of Virginia, chairman; Lynn M. Case, University of Pennsylvania; Walter L. Dorn, Columbia University; Howard M. Ehrmann,* University of Michigan; Fritz Epstein,* Library of Congress; Hans Gatzke,* Johns Hopkins University; Reginald Phelps, Harvard University; Boyd C. Shafer, Washington, D. C. (ex officio).

*Committee on Teaching (Service Center for Teachers).*—Sidney Painter, Johns Hopkins University, chairman; William Cartwright, Duke University; Clement Eaton, University of Kentucky; Erling M. Hunt, Columbia University; Francis Keppel, Harvard University; Agnes Meyer, Washington, D. C.; Boyd C. Shafer, Washington, D. C. (ex officio); Edith Starratt, Sherburne, New York; Joseph R. Strayer, Princeton University.

* New member this year.

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*Committee on Teaching Needs* (*Graduate Education*).—Dexter Perkins,** Cornell University, chairman; Jacques Barzun,** Columbia University; Edward Kirkland,** Thetford Center, Vermont; Leonard Krieger,** Yale University; Boyd C. Shafer,** Washington, D. C. (ex officio).

*Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize.*—Henry Hill, University of Wisconsin, chairman; Harold Grimm, Ohio State University; Henry R. Winkler, Rutgers University.

*Committee on the George Louis Beer Prize.*—Stuart Hughes, Harvard University, chairman; Robert F. Byrnes,* Indiana University; Carl E. Schorske, Wesleyan University.

*Committee on the Albert J. Beveridge Award.*—Frederick B. Tolles, Swarthmore College, chairman; Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Richard N. Current,* Woman's College, University of North Carolina; Walter V. Scholes, University of Missouri; Glynden G. Van Deusen,* University of Rochester.

*Committee on the John H. Dunning Prize.*—Earl S. Pomeroy, University of Oregon, chairman; William Hogan, Tulane University; Charles G. Sellers, Jr., Princeton University.

*Committee on the Revolving Fund for Publication of the American Historical Association.*—Raymond P. Stearns, University of Illinois, chairman; Lynn M. Case, University of Pennsylvania; Richard N. Current, Woman's College, University of North Carolina; Richard P. McCormick, Rutgers University; R. J. Rath, University of Texas.

*Committee on the Robert Livingston Schuyler Prize.*—Helen Taft Manning, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania, chairman; Giovanni Costigan, University of Washington; Garrett Mattingly, Columbia University; Charles Mowat, University of Chicago.

*Committee on the Moses Coit Tyler Prize.*—Charles Barker, Johns Hopkins University, chairman; Ralph H. Gabriel, Yale University; John Higham,* Rutgers University; Stow Persons, State University of Iowa; Frederick Rudolph, Williams College.

*Committee on the Watumull Prize.*—Robert Crane, University of Michigan, chairman; Donald Grove Barnes,* Western Reserve University; Holden Furber, University of Pennsylvania.

The Executive Secretary drew particular attention to the reorganization of the Committee for the Study of War Documents, which followed Council action of last year, and to the reorganization and a new procedure of the Harmsworth Committee. The Council approved the reorganization of the two above-mentioned committees.

The Executive Secretary brought to the Council a report of the *ad hoc* Com-

** Appointed during the year.
* New member this year.

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mittee on Prizes and Awards (Solon J. Buck, Guy Stanton Ford, Richard Shryock, Boyd C. Shafer). The Council accepted the report with minor amendments. A summary of the report as amended follows:

*The Herbert Baxter Adams Prize.* The prize sum was increased to $300, and the award is to be given preferably to a first book and in no case to a book beyond the second by any scholar.

*The George Louis Beer Prize.* The value of the prize will be increased to $300 annually, and the prize will be awarded only to young scholars for a first or second book.

*The Albert J. Beveridge Award.* No change was deemed desirable except that manuscripts submitted must be less than 150,000 words.

*The John H. Dunning Prize.* This prize will be withheld in 1960 in order to increase the capital available. A decision will be made in 1960 on renewal of the prize and an increase in its monetary value.

*The Robert Livingston Schuyler Prize.* The Executive Secretary was asked to examine the possibility of increasing the prize fund and of offering the prize at more frequent intervals. He is to correspond with the Conference on British Studies on these matters.

For the future the Council approved a statement of policy concerning prizes and awards:

"The prizes and awards of the American Historical Association have through the years brought honor both to the recipients and to the donor. They have stimulated significant and fruitful work in history. They have rewarded scholars who have accomplished major research and, in many cases, enabled publication of the results.

"The work of the prize and award committees of the Association has been of great value to the profession. At the same time, these committees have had to perform extraordinary, often tedious, and prolonged duties.

"The Association believes that its prizes and awards will continue to bring deserved honor to the recipients. It believes also that the prizes and awards should be of sufficient size to warrant the efforts of its committees. As a matter of policy, the Association should decline any new prize or award which does not by endowment equal at least $500 biennially, and it prefers prizes and awards which, like the Beveridge Award, enable publication of significant work."

The Council considered the status of the Revolving Fund for Publication of the American Historical Association. Because the fund now contains only $2,000, the Council decided that no publication should be financed from it during the year. It is hoped that the Committee on Publication of the American Council of Learned Societies will have taken action on publication problems during the year.

The Council confirmed the appointment of Professor Mason Hammond of Harvard and of President Lynn White of Mills College to the Board of Editors.

The Council agreed to the nomination of Thomas Parkinson of New York City to the Board of Trustees. It reelected Louis Gottschalk of the University of

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Chicago as delegate to the Social Science Research Council and Guy Stanton Ford as its delegate to the National Historical Publications Commission.

The Executive Secretary informed the Council of the dates and places of meeting for 1958 (Washington, D. C., The Mayflower, December 28–30) and 1959 (Chicago, Illinois, The Conrad Hilton, December 28–30). After considerable discussion, the Council decided that in 1960 the annual meeting should again be held in New York. The Council approved of Cyril E. Black, Princeton, as Program Chairman for 1958, and of Myron Koenig [later replaced by Richard Haskett], George Washington University, as Local Arrangements Chairman for 1958.

The Council reaffirmed its decision to increase the size of the staff at Association headquarters.

On the various special projects of the Association, the Executive Secretary summarized the work accomplished thus far. The Service Center for Teachers of History, he pointed out, had published five pamphlets which had been widely distributed. The War Documents Committee had filmed 1,050,000 frames in Arlington alone, and an additional large number in England. Copy for the *Guide to Historical Literature* was now coming to the editors, and the prospects for publication in 1959 are good. For the "Guide to Photographed Historical Material in Canada and the United States," the collection of materials has begun; on this project a major difficulty will be to limit the material to be included. For the Committee on the Profession's Teaching Needs in Graduate Education, Dexter Perkins described the planning that had been done and expressed the hope of the committee to begin a major study next year. Speaking for the Committee on the British Bibliographies, Stanley Pargellis reported that the Conyers Read volume on the Tudor period is in press, that the Edgar Graves volume on the medieval period is well along, and that Mary Frear Keeler has begun work on the Stuart volume. In response to a request of the Royal Historical Society, the Council of the Association agreed that the Executive Secretary should approach the Ford Foundation to ask that savings, from the sums originally granted for the British *Writings* to 1933, be made available for the preparation of the *Writings*, 1946–1949. The Executive Secretary spoke of the plans for the visit of the Bureau of the International Committee of Historical Sciences to the United States in October, 1958.

The Council discussed a proposal to publish the *Review* six times a year but took no action because of the costs involved.

Informed of the plans of the Library of Congress for a National Register of Manuscripts, the Council asked the Executive Secretary to prepare a resolution supporting this work.

The Council decided that action on a suggestion of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association that the two associations make a joint effort to seek foundation support for graduate fellowships in history be postponed for con-

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sideration until the matter was further clarified through further correspondence, and until the study of the historical profession's teaching needs (see above) had been made.

A proposal from *Historical Abstracts* was thoroughly discussed by the Council. *Historical Abstracts* had asked the Association for support in obtaining funds. The Council agreed that a letter of support be written but also expressed the hope that *Historical Abstracts* would continue to improve and made the reservation that support from the Association did not indicate a financial commitment of any kind.

For the Committee on Honorary Members, the Executive Secretary presented the nomination of Pieter Geyl for honorary membership in the Association. The Council unanimously approved. The Council, in addition, passed a motion that the number of honorary members in the Association be slowly increased to a maximum of twenty-five. The Council by this action indicated only that the Committee on Honorary Members should be permitted to make nominations up to this maximum, not that this number be necessarily appointed. To establish policy governing the selection of honorary members, the Council established this principle: "Recognition should first be governed by scholarship, then teaching, then historical activities. Geographical consideration should enter in only after these primary criteria."

On a proposal for a prize for doctoral dissertations, the Council took no action. The Council likewise took no action on other proposals concerning the reprinting of *Review* articles, joint subscriptions with other journals, and joint membership for husband and wife.

Upon a suggestion of Alvin Eurich of the Fund for the Advancement of Education for consideration of a televised basic course in American history for high school students, the Council agreed that the matter deserved serious consideration, that the Executive Secretary should inform the Fund for the Advancement of Education of the Association's interest, and that the Committee on Teaching be asked to consider the advisability of further action.

For the Executive Committee, the following members were elected for 1958: Robert Palmer, chairman, William L. Langer, Walter L. Dorn, James B. Hedges, Boyd C. Shafer, and the new Treasurer to be elected. The Finance Committee for 1958 will consist of the new Treasurer, the chairman of the Executive Committee, Robert R. Palmer, and the Executive Secretary.

Speaking for the Council, President Langer commended the Executive Secretary and Managing Editor and the headquarters staff for excellent work during the year.

The Council adjourned at about 6:00 p.m.

BOYD C. SHAFER, *Executive Secretary*

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## MINUTES OF THE BUSINESS MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, HOTEL STATLER, NEW YORK CITY, DECEMBER 29, 1957, 4:30 P.M.

President William L. Langer called the meeting to order with about three hundred members present. The minutes of the last meeting (*AHR*, April, 1957, pp. 788–90) were approved.

Dr. Boyd C. Shafer, Executive Secretary of the Association and Managing Editor of the *Review*, presented his annual report (see pp. 833–41). The Treasurer, Dr. Solon J. Buck, spoke briefly on the financial condition of the Association, referring the members to his mimeographed report which had been distributed. This report revealed that the total assets of the Association, including restricted funds for special projects, totaled about $869,000 on August 31, 1957, and that the Association's financial condition was sound. Adding to his report, his last as Treasurer of the Association, Dr. Buck spoke of his work as Treasurer for twenty-one years, pointing out that from 1937 to the present, the membership had doubled and the assets of the Association had tripled. Modestly disclaiming any credit for these increases, he declared that he felt his greatest contribution to the Association had been in helping to secure Dr. Guy Stanton Ford and Dr. Boyd C. Shafer as Executive Secretaries and Managing Editors for the Association. It was moved and seconded that the Treasurer's report be accepted as presented, and unanimous approval was given.

Upon Council renomination, Thomas Parkinson of New York City was re-elected without dissent to the Board of Trustees of the Association for another five-year term.

Professor Ray Billington, chairman of the Nominating Committee for 1957, presented the nominations for the officers of the Association for 1958: for President, Professor Walter Prescott Webb of the University of Texas; for Vice-President, Professor Allan Nevins of Columbia University; for Treasurer, Dean Elmer L. Kayser of George Washington University. The Executive Secretary, on motion, was instructed to cast one ballot for these nominees, and they were declared elected. Professor Billington announced that, as a result of the mail ballot for members of the Council and Nominating Committee, Professors Mildred L. Campbell of Vassar College and W. Stull Holt of the University of Washington were elected to the Council for regular four-year terms, and that Professors Paul W. Gates of Cornell University and Gordon Wright of Stanford University were elected to the Nominating Committee. Professor Billington stated that Professor Kenneth M. Setton of the University of Pennsylvania would be chairman of the Nominating Committee in 1958. The Nominating Committee's report was accepted.

For the Nominating Committee, Chairman Billington then read the following resolution honoring the long service of Treasurer Solon J. Buck. The resolution was passed unanimously.

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WHEREAS, For nearly a quarter of a century, Solon J. Buck has served as Treasurer of the American Historical Association, but this year, in spite of the entreaties of his colleagues, has been unwilling to accept reelection, therefore be it

*Resolved,* That the members of the American Historical Association express their deep appreciation of Dr. Buck's long and dedicated service and their regret that they are henceforth to be deprived of his wisdom, tact, and efficiency as Treasurer of the Association.

Reporting upon actions taken at the Council meeting on December 27 (see Minutes, pp. 841–47), the Executive Secretary outlined plans for the coming year and noted actions taken. He announced new appointments to the several committees of the Association for 1958 and the reelection of Louis Gottschalk as an Association delegate to the Social Science Research Council and of Guy Stanton Ford to the National Historical Publications Commission. He read significant portions of the new policy on prizes and awards, pointed to the new criteria established by the Council for the selection of honorary members of the Association, and announced the election of Professor Pieter Geyl of the Netherlands to honorary membership. He noted that the Council had decided not to reopen the Association Revolving Fund for Publication until more funds had been accumulated and until the American Council of Learned Societies' Committee on Publication Problems had reported. He summarized the work accomplished upon various special projects, the Service Center for Teachers, the British bibliographies, the *Guide to Historical Literature,* the "Guide to Photographed Historical Material in Canada and the United States," and the projected study of the needs of the profession in graduate education. The Executive Secretary mentioned also the coming visit of the Bureau of the International Committee of Historical Sciences in October, 1958, under the auspices of the Association.

For Professor Solomon Katz, the Pacific Coast Branch representative, the Executive Secretary read the Branch's report for 1957. This report indicated continued growth in membership, adequate funds, and an expanding program at the annual meetings of the Branch.

For the Committee on Resolutions, Dr. Stanley Pargellis of the Newberry Library read the following resolution:

*Resolved,* That the American Historical Association extend its gratitude and deep appreciation to Professor Oscar J. Falnes and his fellow members of the Program Committee for the organization of a highly varied and stimulating program, and to Professor Erling M. Hunt and his associates on the Committee on Local Arrangements for their skill and efficiency in providing accommodations to meet the needs of a growing Association.

President Langer opened the meeting for other business. From the floor two members asked questions concerning the policies and meetings of the Association. These were answered, as far as possible, by President Langer and Dr. Shafer.

The meeting adjourned at about 5:50 p.m. after a remark by Professor Samuel

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Bemis that it might be necessary to continue since Professor Frank Maloy Anderson, for the first time in more than thirty years, was not present to move adjournment.

BOYD C. SHAFER, *Executive Secretary*

## AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

On February 10, 1958, Mrs. Mary Dearing (Ph.D., Wisconsin, 1938, in American history) became Assistant Executive Secretary of the Association.

Kenneth M. Setton of the University of Pennsylvania is chairman of the Nominating Committee for 1958. He will welcome suggestions from members of the Association for the office of Vice-President, two Council members, and two members of the Nominating Committee.

The 1958 Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association will be held at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington, D. C., December 28–30. Cyril E. Black of Princeton University is the program chairman and Richard Haskett of George Washington University is the local arrangements chairman.

The annual meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association was held at the University of San Francisco, December 26–28, 1957, with a registered attendance of 312. New officers of the Branch are as follows: John W. Caughey, University of California, Los Angeles, President; Raymond Sontag, University of California, Berkeley, Vice-President; John A. Schutz, Whittier College, Secretary-Treasurer; James G. Allen, University of Colorado, William S. Greever, University of Idaho, Francis Herrick, Mills College, Wilbur R. Jacobs, University of California, Santa Barbara College, Solomon Katz, University of Washington, T. A. Larsen, University of Wyoming, Abraham P. Nasatir, San Diego State College, Benjamin Sacks, University of New Mexico, W. H. Stephenson, University of Oregon, and Raymond Lindgren, Occidental College, Council members.

The annual Pacific Coast Branch Award was given to Don E. Fehrenbacher, for his book, *Chicago Giant: A Biography of "Long John" Wentworth*. The Louis Knott Koontz Memorial Award offered annually for the most deserving contribution to the *Pacific Historical Review* went to John W. Caughey, for his article, "Their Majesties the Mob."

The Association's Service Center for Teachers of History has now published and is distributing a number of pamphlets in its program to provide aids for secondary school teachers of history. The titles include *Key to the Past: History Books for Pre-College Readers, New Interpretations in American Foreign Policy, The South in American History, Industrial Revolution: Interpretations and Perspectives, Civil War and Reconstruction, American Revolution: A Review of*

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*Changing Interpretations, The Colonial Period in Latin American History,* and *The American Frontier.* Additional pamphlets in American, European, and other fields of history are in preparation. During the spring of 1957 the history departments of the University of Missouri, Tulane University, the University of Texas, Stanford University, Whittier College, and the University of California at Los Angeles served as hosts for meetings with secondary school teachers in their areas specifically to discuss the Service Center's program. During the current academic year the Service Center is cooperating with several institutions in varied programs for secondary school history teachers. The Service Center's consultant program is slowly expanding, with visits by professional historians to individual schools to discuss with teachers questions of content and selection in history courses. During February and March a series of consultations of this type, for example, was held at the Brookline High School, Brookline, Massachusetts, to explore further the possibilities of this aspect of the Service Center program.

The next triennial *List of Doctoral Dissertations in History Now in Progress at Colleges and Universities in the United States* is in preparation and will probably be published in the fall of 1958. Chief purposes of the list are to show trends in research and to prevent duplication of work. Candidates or their advisers, using standard forms, list topics with Association headquarters as these topics are selected, and a running file is kept in Association headquarters during interim periods. Standard forms have gone out to department chairmen in institutions giving Ph.D. work in history, so that all topics not yet registered may be sent in to Association headquarters for inclusion in the next published list.

## Libraries and Archives

The Library of Congress has received from Florence Jaffray (Mrs. J. Borden) Harriman approximately 10,000 of her personal papers. One of the early twentieth-century pioneers for the emancipation of women, her participation in public affairs was highlighted by her service from 1913 to 1916, on appointment by President Wilson, as the only woman member of the Federal Industrial Relations Committee and, from 1937 to 1941, under President Roosevelt, as American minister to Norway. Although some of Mrs. Harriman's papers deal with her early political activities, they are composed chiefly of correspondence dating from 1912 to 1950. Much of this relates to her diplomatic service in Norway and to the years following, during which she was active in endeavors to promote universal peace.

Some 15,000 papers of the versatile scientist, James McKeen Cattell (1860–1944), have been presented to the Library by his son Jaques. The material dates from the 1880's, when Cattell was a student at Leipzig, Germany, to the 1940's. A large portion consists of correspondence with eminent scientists and educators which derives from his editorship of the biographical directory, *American Men*

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*of Science,* of a number of journals, including *Science, The Psychological Review,* and *The Scientific Monthly,* and other publications. Other papers relate to the Science Press of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, of which Dr. Cattell was president, and to the American Association for the Advancement of Science, which he served as vice-president twice and as president in 1924.

Smaller groups recently received by the Library include papers of two former members of the Supreme Court of the United States. Mr. Horace H. Lurton, III, has presented about three hundred personal papers of Justice Horace H. Lurton (1844–1914), who, before his appointment by President Taft in 1909, had served with distinction as a member of the Supreme Court of Tennessee and of the United States circuit court of appeals for the sixth circuit. A first shipment of the papers of Justice John Marshall Harlan (1833–1911), whose long and important service began in 1877, by appointment of President Hayes, has been received from his grandson, Mr. Justice John M. Harlan.

A portrait of Waldo Gifford Leland was unveiled on October 24, 1957, in the Conference Room of the National Archives, the present of a number of friends who wished to honor Dr. Leland for his many years of leadership in the archival profession in the United States. In addition about $1,000 was turned over to the Society of American Archivists to establish an annual Leland Prize for outstanding writing in the field of archival science.

In concurrent resolution, adopted on August 22, 1957, Congress expressed its sense "that the fulfillment of the program recommended by the National Historical Publications Commission in its report entitled 'A National Program for the Publication of Historical Documents' would be of lasting benefit to the Government and citizens of the United States"; and further urged "the governors and legislatures of the several States and the State historical commissions and archival agencies, as well as appropriate libraries, historical societies, colleges and universities, business corporations, foundations, civic and other nonprofit organizations, and individuals to cooperate with the National Historical Publications Commission in the fulfillment of the said program."

The Ford Foundation has made a grant of $125,000 to the National Archives Trust Fund Board, to be administered through the National Historical Publications Commission, in support of the preparation of a documentary history of the ratification of the Constitution and the first ten amendments. It is expected that the grant will make possible the completion of copy for the publication in about five years.

The Federal Register Division of the National Archives and Records Service has compiled for publication by the Superintendent of Documents the first volume of a new series entitled *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States.* This volume contains all significant presidential messages and papers of 1957. It includes formal communications to Congress, public addresses, transcripts of press conferences, letters released to the public, messages to the heads of foreign coun-

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tries, and significant statements on miscellaneous subjects. It will be indexed and will carry tables listing many presidential documents that do not appear in full text.

In the series of preliminary inventories, the following have been issued since July 1, 1956, all obtainable without charge from the Exhibits and Publications Branch of the National Archives: no. 93, Records of the Federal Communications Commission; no. 94, Records of the Bureau of Entomology and Plant Quarantine; no. 95, Records of the Price Department of the Office of Price Administration; no. 96, Records of the House of Representatives Select Committee to Investigate Real Estate Bondholders' Reorganizations, 1934–38; no. 97, Records of the United States Shipping Board; no. 98, Records of the Central Bureau of Planning and Statistics; no. 99, Records of the Office of the Postmaster General; no. 100, Records of the War Trade Board; no. 101, The War Department Collection of Confederate Records.

Among the titles added to the list of National Archives microfilm publications are the Correspondence of the Secretary of the Treasury with Collectors of Customs, 1789–1833 (39 rolls); Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs from the Superintendencies of Arizona, Colorado, Florida, New Mexico, St. Louis, Utah, and Wisconsin and from 14 agencies, 1824–81 (245 rolls); Register of Enlistments in the United States Army, 1798–1914 (81 rolls); Lists of Passengers Arriving at New York, 1820–55 (152 rolls); Revolutionary War Muster Rolls, 1775–83 (92 rolls).

A new increment of the central files of the Department of State brings the holdings of the National Archives in this important series up through 1939. These papers, arranged according to a decimal classification scheme adopted in 1900, contain (with much other material) the usual documents found among the records of a foreign office. With this accession the National Archives has in its custody the official documentation of our foreign relations from the time of Benjamin Franklin to the outbreak of World War II, open with few exceptions for the unrestricted use of scholars down to 1930.

As a result of several other large accessions made in 1956 and 1957 the holdings of the National Archives in general correspondence of the Bureau of Mines, the Bureau of Public Roads, and the Bureau of Reclamation have been brought down to 1949, 1950, and 1945 respectively. Important series of correspondence and reports of the Geological Survey ranging in date from 1880 to 1951 have also been brought into the building. Another notable accession is the record set of maps published by the Army Map Service between 1944 and 1956, covering all parts of the world and numbering some 130,000 separate items.

The papers of John Jay have been purchased by Columbia University. This significant collection of nearly 2,000 papers, the great bulk of which is unpublished, will be available to historians and scholars in the Special Collections department of the Columbia University Libraries. One of the most important

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items is the original of No. 5 of "The Federalist" essays, the only one of the eighty-five historic essays now in the archives of a library.

*Hemlandet,* the oldest Swedish language newspaper published in the United States, has now been placed on microfilm through the efforts of the Augustana Historical Society. Embracing the period 1855–1914, *Hemlandet* covers the main stream of Swedish immigrant life in the United States for a period of sixty years. The complete file, or partial runs, on microfilm are available from the Society, Augustana College Library, Rock Island, Illinois.

The University of Kentucky has received a grant of $57,800 from the Lilly Endowment, Indianapolis, to edit and publish the papers of Henry Clay.

The Library of Congress will undertake a cooperative project to microfilm its holdings of the following newspaper issues: *Washington Globe,* Dec. 7–29, 1830, 1831–Apr., 1845; *Washington Daily Union,* May, 1845–Apr., 1859; *The Madisonian* (Washington), Aug. 16, 1837–Apr., 1845; and *The United States Telegraph* (Washington), Feb. 6, 1826–Feb. 21, 1837. Cost of the microfilms will depend on the number of subscriptions received. Orders for copies of one or all of the titles should be addressed to the Chief, Photoduplication Service, Library of Congress, Washington 25, D. C.

## Other Historical Meetings

The American Association for State and Local History held its seventeenth annual meeting at Columbus, Ohio, on October 4–6, 1957. Participants in the program included: Thomas D. Clark, University of Kentucky, Roy F. Nichols, University of Pennsylvania, David C. Mearns, Library of Congress, Herman Kahn, Director of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, William B. Hesseltine, University of Wisconsin, Anthony N. B. Garvan, University of Pennsylvania, John McCormick, Rutgers University, J. Duane Squires, Colby Junior College, Dean Everett Walters, Ohio State University, James M. Smith, Institute of Early American History and Culture, Francis P. Weisenburger, Ohio State University, Philip D. Jordan, University of Minnesota, Stephen T. Riley, Massachusetts Historical Society, Phyllis H. Winkleman, Nebraska State Historical Society, and Howard H. Peckham, Director of the William L. Clements Library.

The Conference on British Studies held its fall meeting on November 2, 1957, in New York City. Conyers Read, University of Pennsylvania, was elected president. W. N. Medlicott, University of London, spoke on "Britain, America, and the Blockade in World War II." W. R. Emerson, Yale, and Samuel J. Hurwitz, Brooklyn College, were commentators.

A meeting of the Conference on the History of Religion in the New World was held December 17–18, 1957, at the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

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The program, concerned with colonial times, included the following participants: Arthur P. Whitaker, Silvio Zavala, Kenneth Scott Latourette, Sidney E. Mead, Henry H. Walsh, Guillermo Lohmann Villena, L. Nicolau d'Olwer, Wigberto Jiménez Moreno, Miguel Batllori, Rayford W. Logan, Arthur Maheux, Robert Ricard, René Ribeiro, José Antonio Gonsalves de Mello, John Tate Lanning, Max Savelle, and Javier Malagón y Barcelo.

## Awards and Grants

The American Council of Learned Societies has announced the following recipients of its fellowships, grants-in-aid, and special awards, from funds made available by the Carnegie Corporation and Ford Foundation. Fellowships during the 1958–1959 academic year, to provide opportunities for younger scholars to complete research projects in history and related subjects went to: S. J. Freedberg, Harvard, stylistic history of Roman and Florentine painting; C. C. Gillispie, Princeton, completion of book, *Science and the French Revolution;* M. H. Jameson, Pennsylvania, historical study of classical Greek sacrifice; J. H. Mundy, Columbia, studies in the constitutional, legal, and social history of medieval Toulouse and the French Midi; P. Nochlin, Vassar, critical history of British philosophy from 1900; C. L. Ver Steeg, Northwestern, culture and society of the Southern Colonies, 1690–1763; S. S. Weinberg, Missouri, Aegean prehistory before 2000 B.C. Grants-in-aid, for immediate use to complete historical research in progress, went to: R. Coulborn, Atlanta, origins of civilized societies; R. M. Douglas, Amherst, Cardinal Jacopo Sadoleto; L. Edelstein, Johns Hopkins, ancient science, an interpretation of its principles, aims, and significance for Greek civilization; D. F. Lach, Chicago, impact of the East upon Europe, sixteenth century and before; W. M. Simon, Cornell, history of European positivism in nineteenth century; B. Tierney, Catholic University, studies in medieval canon law. The two historians receiving special awards ($10,000), with 1958–1959 tenure, were George Vernadsky, Yale, and Walter P. Webb, Texas.

The Library Company of Philadelphia has announced that its Fellowship in American Studies for the academic year 1957–1958 was awarded to H. Trevor Colbourn, Pennsylvania State University.

The Social Science Research Council's Predoctoral Research Training Fellowships, beginning in 1958, will provide support for periods ranging up to a year to be devoted exclusively to completion of dissertations for which the basic research is already completed or well under way. Applications will be accepted both from present or recent research training fellows of the Council and from other doctoral candidates giving comparable promise of successful research careers.

It will also now be possible to submit an application for both advanced research training and completion of a dissertation, with fellowship support for a total period of at least a year and in some cases as long as two years. Heretofore

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most research training fellows have engaged exclusively in research or further study during the fellowship year, leaving the dissertation to be completed subsequently.

The Committee on Research in Economic History, as the administrator of the Edwin F. Gay Fund, offers a prize of $2,000 for the best book-length study in comparative economic history, limited to the period since 1750. Two typewritten copies of the manuscript (75,000–100,000 words including footnotes and appendixes) should be sent on or before June 30, 1959, to George R. Taylor, Editor, *Journal of Economic History,* P. O. Box 610, Amherst, Massachusetts. Questions regarding the contest should be sent to the chairman of the committee, Arthur H. Cole, P. O. Box 191, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts.

The fifth annual summer Institute on Historical and Archival Management will be offered by Radcliffe College, with the cosponsorship of the department of history of Harvard University, during the six weeks, June 23 through August 1, 1958. Lester J. Cappon, director of the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg will direct the course. Two full tuition scholarships of $200 each are available. Inquiries should be addressed to the Institute, 10 Garden Street, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts.

## Personal

### Appointments and Staff Changes[1]

*University of California* (Los Angeles): Lynn White, Jr., of Mills College (where he served as president), appointed professor. *Colorado State University:* Norman Furniss promoted to associate professor; Carlos R. Allen, Jr., and Sidney Heitman appointed assistant professors. *Hiram College:* James Neal Primm, of University of Missouri, named dean of the faculty. *Lincoln Memorial University* (Harrogate, Tennessee): Wayne C. Temple appointed director of the department of Lincolniana and associate professor. *Massachusetts Historical Society:* Stephen T. Riley, librarian, appointed also director; Malcolm Freiberg, of Pennsylvania State University, appointed editor of publications. *Queens College* (Flushing, New York): William J. Chute promoted to assistant professor. *Roosevelt University* (Chicago): G. D. H. Cole, of Nuffield College, Oxford, appointed visiting professor; Walter L. Arnstein appointed assistant professor. *University of Washington:* Charles Odegaard, of University of Michigan, elected president. *Western Michigan University:* Ernst A. Breisach and Walter J. Brunhumer appointed assistant professors.

[1] The *Review* prints news of appointments, promotions, retirements, and leaves of absence. It does not print news of summer session appointments, completed temporary appointments, or honorary degrees and citations.

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## Recent Deaths

Gaetano de Sanctis died in Rome on April 9, 1957, in his eighty-seventh year. His death brought to an end the long and distinguished career of a great ancient historian and broke one of the few remaining links with the classical and historical scholarship of the nineteenth century. He made his mark before the turn of the century, and at the age of thirty, three years before the death of Mommsen, he was appointed professor of ancient history at Turin. After developing a great school of ancient history there, he was called to Rome in 1929. Two years later, on his refusal to take the Fascist oath, he was placed on the retired list. But neither his personal fate nor the misfortune of blindness stopped his labors. As president of the Pontifical Academy of Archaeology, coeditor of *Rivista di Filologia* and editor of the contributions on classical antiquity in the *Enciclopedia Italiana,* he maintained active connection with classical studies. He also continued to train a younger generation of ancient historians who eagerly sought and richly profited from the privilege of reading to him. He was reinstated in his professorship after the war and lectured at Rome for several years. He edited the two-volume supplement of the *Enciclopedia Italiana,* seeing in the task a challenge, "di dominare la cronaca di ieri e di oggi per comporla in linee di storia."

His interests and his scholarship were themselves encyclopedic. The imaginative view, the grasp of movements and of principles which marks a great historian are evident in his works on Greek and on Roman history, in his early work on the history of Athens to the time of Cleisthenes, to which he was led by the then recent discovery of Aristotle's Constitution of Athens, his history of Greece to the end of the fifth century, the product of his mature years, and his massive *Storia dei Romani,* which was completed only to 167 B.C. Yet these works, as well as numerous articles and reviews, reveal also his detailed mastery of the sources and his exact command of allied disciplines. Beside the panorama of his picture of Rome at war with Carthage or the grandeur of his appreciation of Socrates may be put his analysis, the most minute and precise we have, of the sources for the Punic Wars. And the most recent part of his *Storia dei Romani,* published after a long interval in 1955, contains our best discussion of the development of Roman art and architecture in the second century B.C. We hope that other parts, which it is said he left, will soon appear.

Behind these achievements was the moral splendor of the man, detached, independent, and courageous. He was drawn to the history of the Greeks, perhaps his greatest love, by the free play of their ideas and their development of free systems of government, and to Roman history by patriotic feeling and his recognition of the importance of Rome's unifying role, no less than by the need he felt for correcting the hypercritical attitude of Pais and the false modernity of Ferrero. Yet his study of Roman imperialism, coinciding with the rise of Fascism, repelled him. He stood for freedom and with free peoples. His feeling is expressed in the proud disdain of the dedication of the fourth volume of his *Storia dei*

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*Romani* (1923): "A quei pochissimi che hanno parimente a sdegno d'essere oppressi e di farsi oppressori."

The American Historical Association is proud to say that he was a honorary member of the Association from 1945.

Mrs. Elinor Shafer Barnes, wife of Dr. James Barnes, died in August, 1957. Mrs. Barnes was active in the Pennsylvania Historical Association and had been assistant editor of its official journal, *Pennsylvania History*. In addition to being a former teacher in Wisconsin and Washington, D. C., Mrs. Barnes was a writer and editor. She did historical research with her husband and was a historian with the War Department during World War II. Before her illness, Mrs. Barnes had completed the preliminary editing of the surgeon's Civil War diary which Dr. Barnes is now processing for publication.

William Appleton Aiken, professor of history at Lehigh University, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, died September 26, 1957, at the age of fifty. He was graduated from Yale University in 1929 and received the M.Litt. degree from Cambridge in 1932 and his Ph.D. degree from Yale in 1939. He served on the Lehigh faculty from 1941 to his death and was named professor of history in 1948. Dr. Aiken was the author of *The Conduct of the Earl of Nottingham* (1941) and *The Poems of Catullus* (1951). From 1942 to 1946 Dr. Aiken served as a major in the United States Army Military Intelligence and was attached to the Middle East Theater of Operations in Cairo, Egypt. He held a staff citation.

Arthur Cecil Bining, associate professor of history at the University of Pennsylvania, died on September 30, 1957, at the age of sixty-three. Born in Llanelly, South Wales, he came to the United States in 1907 and received his degrees of B.S., M.A., and Ph.D. at the University of Pennsylvania between 1927 and 1932; then for twenty-eight uninterrupted years he served the same university as a member of the history department and as one of the most thorough and best trained teachers on its staff. An outstanding authority on the iron and steel industry, he published two studies in the field of economic history: *Pennsylvania Iron and Steel Industries* and *The Rise of American Life;* in 1951 he received a Guggenheim Fellowship for a study of American iron and steel industries, on which he was working at the time of his death. He was also well known for his widely used two-volume *History of the United States* (the second volume as coauthor with Klein). He was also a distinguished historical editor, of *The Social Studies, The Educational Outlook, Pennsylvania History,* Nelson Social Studies Series, and Scribner's Historical Series. The high regard in which he was held by his profession is shown by his election as vice-president (1943) and then president (1945) of the Middle States Council of Social Studies and as president of the Pennsylvania Historical Association. His former students as well as his professional associates will remember him for his friendliness, his integrity, and his devotion to scholarship.

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Stewart Mitchell, director of the Massachusetts Historical Society from 1947 to 1957, died on November 3, 1957. He received his Ph.D. degree in American history at Harvard University in 1933.

John Bartlet Brebner, Gouverneur Morris Professor of History at Columbia University, died in New York on November 10, 1957, after a long illness. Born in Toronto in 1895, he was educated at the University of Toronto and, after serving in both the Canadian and British armies during World War I, at St. John's College, Oxford. He returned to Toronto to teach in 1921 and came to Columbia in 1925. In 1954–55 he served as Pitt Professor of American History and Institutions at Cambridge University. A fellow of St. John's, he returned every summer to work in the community of which he had so quickly made himself an important part.

He often recalled that when he was a student he swore there were two fields in which he would never become entangled: one, the relations of Canada and the United States, the other, the history of Britain during the past two hundred years—the two fields which became his life's work. His first book, *New England's Outpost,* dealt with Nova Scotia, to whose history he returned some years later in *The Neutral Yankees of Nova Scotia.* His interest in the continental aspects of American history produced *The Explorers of North America,* and through his work as assistant to James T. Shotwell in carrying out the great Carnegie study of Canadian-American relations, he extended his concern to the North Atlantic. The result was *North Atlantic Triangle,* published in 1945, a study of the interplay of Canada, the United States, and Great Britain, which is one of the seminal historical works of this generation. Happily, a history of Canada, written a few years ago, will shortly be published.

At Columbia he taught for twenty-five years a course in British constitutional history, a rigorous and stimulating experience for hundreds of undergraduates who have since gone into the law. Increasingly in his graduate work he concentrated on the modern history of Britain, particularly on the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Fascinated by Jeremy Bentham and the growth of state intervention in an age of presumed laissez faire, he painstakingly built up a synthesis of that history. "Industrial Britain" was to have been his magnum opus; four chapters only were completed when he died.

As teacher and colleague, Bart Brebner was invariably stimulating, powerful as a thinker, incisive yet always gentle as a critic, superb as an examiner. He showed his most characteristic quality in a curiosity so far-ranging and so well-informed that there were few subjects—from Russia to farming, from mining to ballet and cookery—on which he could not speak with profit and authority. And there was never a trace of presumption or arrogance.

Wonderfully kind, he was a generous spirit who inspired respect and affection in everyone who knew him. A member of the Association since 1925, he will be missed by the profession.

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Max Cary, professor emeritus of ancient history in the University of London, died on January 2, 1958, at the age of seventy-six. Cary was educated at Liverpool College and at Corpus Christi College, Oxford. After he had taken his degree, he spent a year in Greece and then was for two years lecturer in Greek in the University of Birmingham. In 1908 he moved to the University of London, first as reader and later as professor of ancient history. He was an inspiring teacher and a scholar of high distinction. His knowledge of the ancient world was both wide and deep and characterized by a quite unusual sanity of judgment, particularly where controversial questions were involved. He contributed several chapters to the *Cambridge Ancient History,* was for a time assistant editor of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies,* and was editor of the seven-volume Methuen *History of the Greek and Roman World,* to which he himself contributed the admirable volume on the Hellenistic age. Among his other works were *The Documentary Sources of Greek History* (1927), *The Ancient Explorers* (1929), which he wrote in collaboration with E. H. Warmington, the masterly *History of Rome* (1935), and *The Geographic Background of Greek and Roman History* (1949), a book based on a lifetime's familiarity with the sources. His many American friends will deplore the death of a great scholar and of a modest, kindly, and witty personality.

Colin Brummitt Goodykoontz, a member of the University of Colorado history department since 1921, died in Boulder on January 6, 1958. Born at Atlanta, Indiana, December 14, 1885, Goodykoontz received his collegiate education at the University of Colorado, graduating in 1912. He earned a masters degree from the University of California (1914) and a doctorate from Harvard (1916) under Frederick Jackson Turner. After teaching at Bowdoin College and at Yale, he returned to the University of Colorado as an assistant professor and taught there until his retirement in 1954.

As an exponent of Western history Goodykoontz became widely known for his *Home Missions on the American Frontier* (1939). In 1930 he edited *The Trans-Mississippi West,* a series of papers given at a conference held at the University of Colorado. He and the late James F. Willard published *Experiments in Colorado Colonization* in 1926. The last of his principal works appeared in 1941, the *Papers of Edward P. Costigan Relating to the Progressive Movement in Colorado.* At the time of his death he was at work on a general history of the frontier movement.

Goodykoontz was extremely active in the organizations of his profession, participating regularly at the meetings of the American Historical Association and the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. In the latter organization he served both as a member of the editorial board and as program chairman of one of the annual meetings. In 1953 he was president of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association. He contributed to and served (1947) as editor of the *Colorado Magazine.* In 1938 he was president of the Colorado-Wyoming Social Science Association.

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A quiet, precise person, Colin Goodykoontz had a dry sense of humor that was a delight to those who knew him. Several generations of graduate students will remember him as one of the most conscientious teachers they ever knew, stern and exacting in his requirements, but thoroughly kind and understanding in all academic and personal problems. To his colleagues at Colorado and across the country he represented the highest ideals and aspirations of his profession.

Claude G. Bowers, historian, biographer, and diplomat, died in New York City on January 21, at the age of seventy-nine. Mr. Bowers was born in Indiana and completed his formal education with high school. He worked as a reporter and editorial writer on several Indiana newspapers, and in 1923 came to New York City where he was an editorial writer for the *New York World* and a columnist for the *New York Journal*. Mr. Bowers was ambassador to Spain from 1933 to 1939 and ambassador to Chile until 1953.

Many of Mr. Bowers' historical and biographical writings dealt with the period of Thomas Jefferson. His published works include a biography of United States Senator Albert J. Beveridge; a life of Washington Irving in Spain; *Pierre Vergniaud, Voice of the French Revolution* (1950); *My Mission to Spain: Watching the Rehearsal for World War II* (1954); and *Chile through Embassy Windows* (1958).

## Communications

To the Editor of the American Historical Review:

In his review of my recent book, *Alexander Hamilton and the Founding of the Nation,* on pages 433–36 of the January issue of the *American Historical Review,* Merrill Jensen states:

"Nor is one of the last letters Hamilton ever wrote, in which he called democracy the 'real disease' of the country, included."

This letter to Theodore Sedgwick, of July 10, 1804, is included in my collection on page 284. In fairness to Hamilton it should be pointed out that his criticism of democracy was tied to his denunciation of dismemberment and secession. It was a crucial letter. The next day Hamilton was fatally shot by Burr. No responsible editor would think of omitting it.

*Columbia University* Richard B. Morris

To the Editor of the American Historical Review:

My apologies to Richard Morris for an inexcusable error. Although it is no defense, it should be noted that the excerpt from the letter is at the end of the section on "The Principles of Constitutional Government," not in the section on "Democracy and the Role of the People."

My basic criticism remains as stated in the review. It was both politically and socially respectable to publicly question the merits of democracy in the eighteenth

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century, and Hamilton was one among many leaders who did so. It does not add to his stature to avoid the fact any more than it detracts from his stature to attack him for it.

*University of Wisconsin* MERRILL JENSEN

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# THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Founded in 1884 Chartered by Congress in 1889

*Principal Office*

400 A Street, S.E., Washington 3, D. C.

Membership: Persons interested in historical studies, whether professionally or otherwise, are invited to membership. Present membership ca. 6,600.

Meetings: An annual meeting with a three-day program is held in the last days of each year. Election of officers is by ballot of the membership.

The Association maintains close relations with the state and local historical societies through conferences at the annual meetings. The Pacific Coast Branch holds meetings in December on the Pacific Coast and publishes the *Pacific Historical Review*.

Publications: In addition to the *Annual Report,* the Association publishes from time to time out of special funds important documentary collections in American political and legal history. Its official organ is the *American Historical Review,* published quarterly and sent to all members. It appoints a proportion of the members of the board of editors of *Social Education,* a journal on the social studies for secondary-school teachers.

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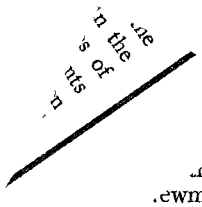
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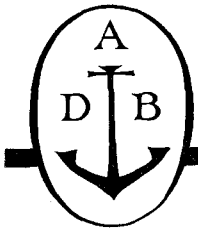
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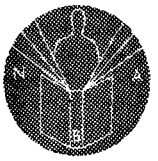

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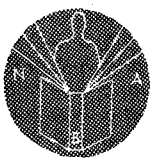


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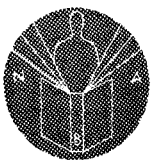


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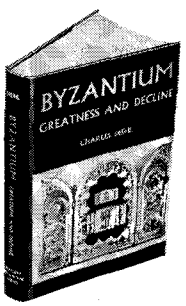
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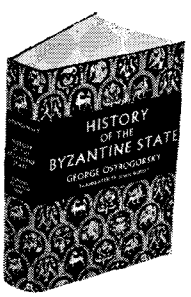
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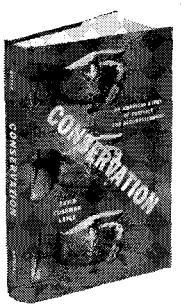
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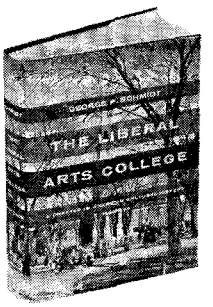
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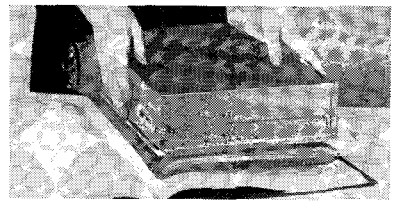
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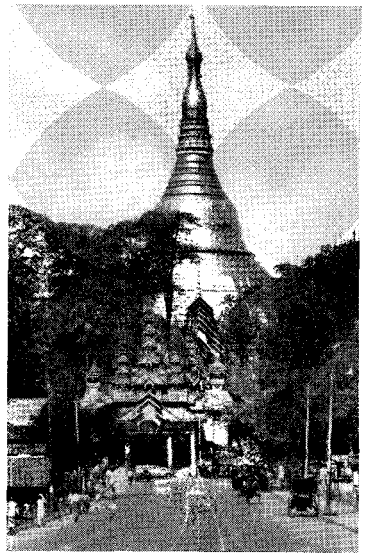
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